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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2083

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8 December 1982

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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PROBLEMS OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY EXAMINED

Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA in Bulgarian No 9, 1982 pp 57-67

[Article by Docent Stoil Karatanchev: "Nature and Character of Contradictions during the Building of a Developed Socialist Society and the BCP's Policy for Solving Them"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The problem of dialectical contradictions and their nature and role occupies an exceptionally important place in the philosophical theory of Marxism-Leninism and is of tremendous methodological significance for comprehensive human cognitive, revolutionary and reform, constructive and creative activity. This applies with special force to socialism, under which, according to V. I. Lenin's famous thesis, antagonism disappears, but contradictions remain<sup>1</sup> and continue to be its source of development. Basing itself on the dialectical-materialist doctrine of contradictions and the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, our party's Central Committee simultaneously enriches and applies this doctrine.

Inestimable in this regard is Comrade Todor Zhivkov's personal contribution not only to the theoretical enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of contradictions, but also to the party's practical activity involved with their timely detection and solution conformably with the specific conditions under which socialism is being built in our country. It is this contribution of his, especially in his reports, speeches and statements since the 12th BCP Congress, that is the subject of analysis here. That is why the propagandist's success in disclosing the subject-matter of this theme depends to a great extent on a thorough knowledge of these reports and speeches, especially of Comrade T. Zhivkov's address to student youth on 7 December 1981, in which, with reason, he declared that "some philosophers have even denied the existence of social contradictions in socialist society" and that "now as well there are scholars who still mute their discussion of contradictions under socialism," with which opinions "we cannot agree. . ."<sup>2</sup>

We suggest a model plan of two main points which in our opinion makes possible fullest achievement of the purpose of the training session:

1. Character and role of contradictions under socialism.
2. Overcoming contradictions--the heart of party policy in building a developed socialist society.

In analyzing the first point of the plan it might be well, to begin with, to recall--even if briefly--some of the most important principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy regarding the nature and role of the law of the unity and struggle of opposites and the categories through which it is formulated.<sup>3</sup>

After this general theoretical introduction to the topic, the BCP's rich historical experience in solving the contradictions in our social development should be pointed out. It is advisable to do this on the basis of the experience of recent years in building a developed socialist society in the country. It should also be emphasized that the main question is not whether contradictions exist under socialism, but what their character is and how they are solved. Of methodological importance as a starting point for a scientific analysis of this question is Comrade T. Zhivkov's formulation in his address to student youth on 7 December 1981, namely that in our society "objective laws and regularities exist, on the basis of which certain contradictions arise and cannot help arising. Our society also develops by detecting and overcoming these contradictions. Whether we like it or not, objectively these contradictions show up. Whether they have their own specific character and differ essentially from the contradictions that operate under capitalism is a different question."<sup>4</sup> At this point one should recall that socialism eradicated the roots of man's exploitation by man, eradicated class antagonisms and achieved social unity, which is a great gain of the new social order. This unity is a great expediter of social progress because it is the cooperation between classes and social groups rather than some irreconcilability in the relations between them that determines society's movement along the road towards the building of developed socialism and towards communism. Here it is important as a matter of principle to note that cooperation that is based on the unity of the fundamental interests of friendly classes and social groups does not preclude, but presupposes the existence of contradictions, which are a source of development under the conditions of the new social order as well.

Hence socialism is characterized by its own system of dialectical contradictions, which are its immanent source of development. In its capacity as leading subjective factor and decisive link in the system of social administration in our country, the BCP from the very first day after the victory of 9 September 1944 has guided the building of the new social order, systematically and steadily solving the urgent social contradictions in all spheres of life.

In their nature and especially in their genesis, the contradictions under socialism can be classified in several basic groups:

First are the contradictions that characterize every social formation. Such are the contradictions between social being and social consciousness, between productive forces and productive relations, between the economic base and the superstructure of society, which here, however, take on a new content and have a socialist character. For example, after the victory of 9 September 1944 our party had to solve the contradictions between the new political superstructure, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat which had become established in the form of people's democracy, and the old economic base. As is known, the party solved this contradiction by nationalizing industry in 1948 and by

completely unifying agriculture into cooperatives and setting it on a socialist track.

The second type includes contradictions that arose long ago at a certain stage of social development under the influence, mainly, of the social division of labor, and which under socialism and with the transition to communism are entering upon the last period of their existence. Such are the essential differences between city and countryside, between mental and physical labor etc., which show up as well in the stage of the building of a developed socialist society. Here, actually fall "all contradictions inherited from the past, which socialism, as the first phase of communism, cannot overcome at once,"<sup>5</sup> but introduces a profoundly specific character into them. It is a good idea for the propagandist to cite several examples, too. The entire activity of the party and its Central Committee with Comrade T. Zhivkov at its head, aimed at mobilizing the energies of the people for fulfillment of the BCP's program, with the achievements of the modern scientific and technical revolution utilized to the maximum, is a brilliant illustration of this.

The third group includes the new contradictions that arise with the establishment of socialism and that are characteristic of it alone. For example, here we can cite the contradictions between the forms of socialist property, between the working class, the friendly class of the peasantry and the stratum of the intelligentsia etc. Actually, during the building of a developed socialist society in our country, such contradictions continually arise in all spheres of life--in the economy, in social relations, in the spiritual realm, in administration and politics, in the everyday existence and education of the New Man etc. Of such a character, for example, is the sharp contradiction that has appeared in recent years in the economic sphere between the extensive development and the possibilities of intensive development of our economy, which the party and the people are now solving. In large part, the contradictions to which Comrade T. Zhivkov turned his attention in his speech to the October (1981) National Conference are also of such a character.

Also of fundamental significance in analyzing the first point of the plan is the formulation of the question of /the character of the contradictions under socialism/. Here we must proceed from the Marxist thesis that under the conditions of the new order and especially at the stage of the building of mature socialism, nonantagonistic contradictions predominate and determine the character and directions of development in all areas of life. In his reports and speeches since the 12th Party Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov has repeatedly emphasized that the contradictions in our society "are not antagonistic, and detecting and overcoming them leads not to liquidation of the socialist order but, on the contrary, to strengthening it. For they are solved on its very foundation; they arise, are operative and are solved under conditions where the fundamental interests of society and of its social groups coincide."<sup>6</sup>

For a more thorough comprehension of these initial theses, it is a good idea for the propagandist to direct his audience's attention to the fact that Marxists have already overcome the incorrect understanding that the nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism have lost their characteristic of opposites, that the contradictions themselves are the fruit only of subjectivism or of the

elemental principle in human activity, that their role reduces to only indicators of shortcomings.<sup>7</sup>

It is a good idea on the basis of an analysis of characteristic examples from life under socialism to illustrate that the opposite sides of nonantagonistic contradictions are not in a hostile conflictive struggle between themselves and that the basic trend here results in change to the benefit of both sides. Of course, there is also a certain irreconcilability between these dialectical opposites; it does not, however, pit one against the other as a whole, but is expressed in the struggle between the new and the outdated characteristics and elements of social relations and of particular institutions in the system of social administration. This, in its turn, is a basis for cooperation between the opposites, between both sides of the contradictions that have sprung up in their struggle for liberation from the Old and for strengthening of the New. This specific, nonhostile irreconcilability is an objective basis in principle for solving all nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism gradually, consciously and by peaceful means, under the guidance and usually at the initiative of the Communist Party.

But under socialism there exist as well individual antagonistic contradictions which interact with the nonantagonistic contradictions and have their specific character, too; any attempt, while analyzing the topic, to clarify the character of these contradictions under socialism (however limited they may be) and of the conflict (however specific it may be) would be of undoubtedly interest. After it has been proved with representative examples that the basic contradictions are overcome as early as the transition from capitalism to socialism, it should be noted at once that individual contradictions preserve their character of antagonistic contradictions since the struggle between their opposite sides is waged totally and uncompromisingly until the complete victory of the positive and leading opposite. Such, for example, is the case of the contradiction between the people's socialist consciousness and the bourgeois vestiges in their consciousness and conduct, which were the object of a thorough analysis in the materials of the July (1976) plenum of the BCP Central Committee. In evidence here is a typical conflict situation even though the "clash" with "the evil spirit," as Comrade T. Zhivkov explained in his speech to this plenum, is often a "clash" of us against ourselves. In such cases, he pointed out, nobody can help us except ourselves. But it is important to mention that the party solves these contradictions during the stage of the building of mature socialism just as it does nonantagonistic contradictions, by peaceful means specific for the new social order, i.e. by the gradual extinction of the negative phenomena, which usually happens deliberately and in planned fashion. Here we may recall some of the more important decisions of the July (1976) plenum of the Central Committee which mapped out a whole system of forms and means for the gradual solution of similar contradictions in the interest of the accelerated development of our society on the road towards the building of mature socialism.

It is worth calling the audience's attention especially to the fact that dialectical thinking does not deny the existence of conflicts and takes a resolute stand against the thesis of the so-called conflict-free situation. All the more so since nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism do not preclude

the possibility of elements of a conflict situation. It is no accident that dialectical thought in our country includes the use of the concept of a "non-antagonistic conflict situation," which reflects the joint and irreconcilable struggle of the New against the resistance of the Old until its final victory, usually by peaceful means on both sides of the contradiction. Some Soviet authors, with reason, speak of two comparatively more important forms of conflict situation under socialism: the first, between individual members of society (between spouses, between parents and children etc.), and the second, between a given collective and a prominent member thereof, including the leader. Consequently, possible conflicts in socialist society differ in principle from the profound social conflicts that shake up capitalism and ultimately lead to socialist revolution.

Under socialism, isolated cases are possible where, mainly as a result of subjectivistic errors in the management and administration of society, some non-antagonistic contradictions may turn into antagonistic contradictions and lead to perversion, deformations and profound social crises and cataclysms. It may be recalled that the deformations in Maoist China and the counterrevolutionary events in certain fraternal socialist countries (Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland last year), for example, have confirmed these possibilities. That is why the BCP Central Committee is making all necessary efforts constantly to elevate the socialist consciousness of the subjective factor and the scientific level of its activity by solving all urgent contradictions in good time.

Comrade T. Zhivkov's personal contribution to the solution of this problem and to the effort to protect the party and people from making subjectivistic errors is especially great. In his address to the student youth on 7 December 1981 he noted that "we, too, have contradictions which are not caused solely by the operation of the objective laws of social development. There are also contradictions which are due to subjective causes, to errors and shortcomings, to the wrong work style and management on the part of the subjective factor and on the part of key cadres and individual institutions. Contradictions of this kind do us tremendous harm and they must be resolutely overcome, too.

...<sup>8</sup> Among these contradictions Comrade T. Zhivkov included, for example, a large part of the contradictions in the sphere of health care or legal services, which lag behind the public's needs. That is why the party raised these questions so pointedly at the 12th Congress and at the October National Conference last year. Taking note of our people's historic successes in health care, Comrade T. Zhivkov stressed that "in health care there are also serious reasons for the occurrence of these contradictions,"<sup>9</sup> which must be overcome in the very next years ahead by making the fullest use of the health facilities that have been created in the country and by making a drastic change in the method of health care. The same holds true also for the sphere of legal and administrative services where "thousands of people are given the runaround, their time is lost, and questions are not always solved in complete conformity with the requirements of our laws,"<sup>10</sup> with "moral wounds inflicted" on them.

In summarizing, it is important that the propagandist point out the BCP's implacability towards such phenomena and its consistent concern for the Marxist-Leninist maturation of cadres, as well as something that Comrade T. Zhivkov has observed, namely, that "a characteristic feature in our party's approach to the management of socioeconomic and spiritual processes is that it not only

takes into account the existence of all these contradictions (I refer to both objective contradictions and those that arise for subjective reasons--Author's Note), but also prevents them from festering and becoming a source of social perversions and cataclysms. This is /a historic achievement, a major gain of April Bulgaria. . . In the future, too, we must elevate the creative role of the subjective factor, must intensify its capacity to analyze truly real processes and phenomena, detect in good time the contradictions that spring up and mobilize the working people for their timely solution./"<sup>11</sup>

Winding up the analysis of the first point of the plan, we should note that under socialism its foreign contradictions also affect the entire system of different domestic contradictions. Some of these foreign contradictions have a vividly pronounced antagonistic character, as is the case, for example, with the contradiction of our country, as a component part of the world socialist community, with the imperialist states. Here vivid examples can be cited of our party and government's skill and vast favorable experience in solving these contradictions too, gradually and peacefully, by means of foreign policy and diplomacy, ideological struggle etc.

Thus on the basis of an analysis of our specific experience we arrive naturally at the necessity of saying that thanks only to the BCP's Marxist-Leninist maturity in the timely detection and solution of contradictions has the accelerated development of the country along the path towards the building of mature socialism taken place.

Analysis of the second point of the topical plan must begin by pointing out and giving the supporting argument for the fact that one of the BCP's greatest merits is the ability of its Central Committee, headed by Comrade T. Zhivkov, to detect in time and map out the right measures for solving dialectical contradictions in the process of our society's development. This ability is the heart of the party's overall policy and is a methodological precondition for correctly laying down its general line, its strategy and tactics. The propagandist must try to show all this in operation, with examples from the present stage of our development, especially since the 12th Congress when the party and people have been solving exceptionally important problems. For this purpose the following thought of Comrade T. Zhivkov may be of significance as a point of departure: /"The Central Committee of our Party has attached and continues to attach great significance to the contradictions in our country, constantly endeavors to detect them, makes a timely study of them and maps out comprehensive measures for overcoming them one after another. We are guided by the realization that this is an essential precondition for correctly determining and implementing our party's general line, strategy and tactics."/"<sup>12</sup>

Further, on the basis of representative examples, it must be shown that in its leadership activity the party takes into account, first and foremost, the different role of different types and kinds of contradictions in the individual spheres of our social development. In laying down its strategic line of activity the BCP is guided, first and foremost, by the correct determination of /the basic contradiction/ in the economics of socialism, which is not reducible to the contradictions in production relations alone,<sup>13</sup> but refers to the entire system of the mode of production. As early as the Seventh Party

Congress it was pointed out that the role of basic contradiction in our country--primarily in the economic sphere, to be sure--is fulfilled by /the contradiction between social productive forces and socialist productive relations/. This contradiction continues to be basic now too, appearing in both its forms also, /the one/ being a contradiction between socialist production relations and the insufficient degree of development of social productive forces. This made it imperative to formulate in the program adopted at the 10th BCP Congress the goal of building a material and technical base adequate to a mature socialism on the basis of the achievements of the modern scientific and technical revolution. It is precisely this goal that ran through the basic indicators of the Seventh and Eighth Five-Year Plans for the socioeconomic development of the country that were approved at the 11th and 12th Congresses. /The other/ form in which it is manifested is the contradiction between the continuously developing social productive forces and the obsolescent elements of the socialist production relations.

The basic contradiction (in both the forms in which it is manifested) is responsible for the entire system of contradictions, above all in the economic sphere; it functions at all stages and substages in the development of socialism and determines the nature and the main directions of the party and the people's activity, as well as the party's most important measurements of mature socialism. On the basis of it there appear and are solved /the main contradictions/, which at every individual stage or substage of development come to the fore and gradually take on paramount importance for the scientific control and accelerated course of the social processes. It is known that by the end of the 1970's the role of the main and decisive contradiction in our country began to be played by the contradiction that Comrade T. Zhivkov formulated as follows: /"Of exceptionally great--I would say, decisive--significance for our successful progress at present are the detection and overcoming of the contradiction created between the rapidly developing economy, the increasingly complex relations in the production and nonproduction spheres and the objective requirements for the planned and proportionate development of the country, on the one hand, and the significant laggardness in the area of the organization of labor and planning, on the other."/<sup>14</sup> The National Party Conference in 1978 was actually compelled by necessity to map out a system of measures in order to bring the laggard organizational and planning activity into conformity with objective requirements, i.e., in order /"to discuss the problem of improving the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the economy as a decisive factor in the intensification of the economy. . ."/<sup>15</sup>

At the same time that we recall some of the more important factors in the decision of the National Party Conference (1978) to improve the socialist organization of labor and to further better planning in our country, it is especially important to note that the party is solving this contradiction, too, by new measures undertaken since the 12th Congress. Of paramount importance in this regard is the universal introduction of the new economic mechanism with all its requirements as regards the organization of labor, profit-and-loss accounting, autonomous financing etc. Of fundamental importance among these measures is the introduction of /"the brigade organization of labor/, which under the present conditions of development of the material and technical base is

extremely necessary."<sup>16</sup> But in response to the question whether we can figure on keeping the present brigade organization in the future when the entire economy will be put on a full-automation basis, Comrade T. Zhivkov, using the power of Marxist-Leninist prognostic thinking, answers, "No, we cannot because this form of the organization of labor too, at a certain stage, will come into conflict with the existing level and the new production requirements of the economy as a whole."<sup>17</sup> The future new situation will necessitate other measures for solving this newly arising contradiction. Consequently, the BCP's leading and guiding activity is a continuous process of detecting and solving in good time the contradictions in our development not only in the sphere of the economy, but in all other areas of life as well.

On the basis of this analysis it should be recalled that on their solution the main contradictions cease to play their previous role, and some heretofore secondary contradictions come to the fore and begin to fulfill the role of main contradictions. In recent years the problems in our country that have become increasingly urgent and have gradually, but imperiously come to the fore are "the problems of the material and technical base of developed socialism, of socialist property at the present stage, of the relationship between centralism and decentralism in social administration. Here, in the course of our socioeconomic development new contradictions come to a head and appear; a struggle arises between the New and the Old. The necessity of detecting and overcoming these contradictions was the starting position and basis for the mapping out of strategic and tactical tasks by the 12th Congress. At the National Conference in October of this year (i.e. 1981--Author's Note) they were interpreted more concretely in order to mobilize the party and broad masses of the people for implementation of the specific decisions one after another/."<sup>18</sup>

To disclose more fully that the basic nature and content of party policy are expressed in the solution of urgent social contradictions even during the stage of the building of a developed socialist society, the propagandist may also analyze some other typical examples of party activity in recent years. Especially characteristic is the example of the new dialectical contradiction in the sphere of the economy between the owner and the manager of socialist property that has sprung up in recent years "when the process of the closer convergence and interpenetration of the two forms of ownership reached a very advanced stage. . ."<sup>19</sup> The owner of socialist property in our country is the state by proxy and as representative of the people, but its actual managers are the respective collectives, the working people, who are employed in economic organizations and manage and use this property. The question arises whether there are contradictions here between the state and the labor collectives in respect of socialist property. There are unquestionably contradictions here and they have already been the subject of special scientific analyses, even though in the event there is no place for antagonism because the fundamental interests of the state and labor collectives under conditions of the building of mature socialism coincide and require the continuous strengthening and enrichment of socialist property.

Tremendous credit goes to Comrade T. Zhivkov personally for detecting and solving this contradiction. In clarifying our party's approach towards solving it in keeping with the requirements of objective laws and with the

spirit of the new economic mechanism that has been introduced into the country, he explains: "The right approach to these contradictions required clearing up what the powers, duties and functions of the state are as owner, and what those are of the labor collectives that manage the socialist property. The state has the duty of developing and increasing this property so as to guarantee the basic balances and ensure a continuous rise of the working people's material and cultural level. We are now establishing a system under which the functions of the state shall not extend to the direct control of the property. We are therefore mapping out appropriate measures so as to give the labor collectives ample opportunity to manage the socialist property, increase it with maximum efficiency and develop it simultaneously in the interest of the state and people and in their own interest. We are doing this on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism."<sup>20</sup>

It would be a good idea at this point for the propagandist to try to show some features of this new system and the party's more important economic, political, financial, organizational, educational and other measures for solving these contradictions.

With the maturity of its Marxist-Leninist approach and from a position of full confidence as the tested and universally recognized leader of the people, the BCP discovers in good time and solves all the more important contradictions of the present moment in our country, for which decisive credit goes to Comrade T. Zhivkov and to which his personal creative contribution is outstanding. The more important of these in individual spheres of life can be briefly summarized. They have to do especially with contradictions in the political sphere and the area of administration, with the spiritual sphere, the sphere of family and domestic relations etc. For example, in the political sphere and the area of administration, the party is solving, stage by stage, the pressing contradictions between centralism and democratism, taking into account objective requirements and the necessity of a continuous improvement in socialist democracy. It would be a good idea to trace the development of this dialectical contradiction and its stage-by-stage solution by the party in recent decades since the July (1968) plenum of the Central Committee. But it is mandatory that the propagandist dwell on the party's most recent planks and measures,<sup>21</sup> especially those that were adopted at the 12th Congress and since then, and that are aimed at the improvement of economic democracy under conditions of the new economic mechanism and at the development of direct socialist democracy. An important measure in this area is the draft Law on Consultation of the People, recently published for nationwide discussion. Proceeding from the premise that administration and state authority should function on the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, this draft law has as its purpose to give new impetus to direct power of the people in our country as the supreme form of socialist democracy. It will create juridical conditions, adequate to present-day requirements, for active participation by the working people in the discussion and solution of the more important questions within the competence of the National Assembly, the State Council and people's councils.

With allowance for the time that the unit has at its disposal, the propagandist must be prepared to analyze some other contradictions as well in various material and spiritual spheres of life in our society that the BCP has recently solved.

The propagandist must be fully prepared to conduct seminars or discussions in the unit on this complex, current and important topic. For this purpose it is especially important to outline the main problems to be talked about and to do such organizational work as is necessary to make timely assignment of questions for expressions of opinion and to render assistance with bibliography, consultations etc. in preparing them. We suggest the following model questions for expression of opinion:

- /1. The problem of the role of nonantagonistic contradictions in our country in Comrade T. Zhivkov's recent reports and speeches.
- /2. Comrade T. Zhivkov's personal contribution to the BCP's effort to solve the contradictions of a subjective character in our development.
- /3. The basic economic contradiction in our country at the present-day stage and the BCP's effort to solve it.
- /4. The more important dialectical contradictions in the sphere of our country's political relations and administration in recent years and the directions to be taken to solve them, as outlined in Comrade T. Zhivkov's post-congress speeches and reports.
- /5. Characteristic contradictions in our labor collective under conditions of the new economic mechanism./

Certain visual aids may also be used in explaining the topic. Suitable for the purpose are the visual aids for the supplementary materials used in higher educational institutions and in the party educational system in teaching the law of the materialistic dialectic of the unity and struggle of opposites.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Leninskiy Sbornik" [Collection of Leninist Works], XI, Moscow, 1931, p 357.
2. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata" [Let Us Embody the Decisions of the 12th Party Congress in Real Deeds], Partizdat, 1982, pp 94-95.
3. See V. I. Lenin, "Such." [Works], "On the Question of Dialectics"; A. Kutov, "Yadroto na Dialektikata" [The Kernel of Dialectics], Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1975; "Uchebnik po Osnovi na Marksistkata Filosofiya" [Textbook on the Principles of Marxist Philosophy], Izd. na BKP, Sofia--the relevant chapter on the law of the unity and struggle of opposites etc.
4. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, pp 93-94.
5. Ibid., p 94.

6. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, p 95.
7. See "Osobennosti Deystviya Zakonov Dialektiki v Periode Perekhoda k Kommunizmu" [Characteristics of the Operation of the Laws of Dialectics during the Period of Transition to Communism], editor-in-chief V. P. Tugarinov, Leningrad University, Leningrad, 1963, p 29.
8. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, pp 107-108.
9. Ibid., p 107.
10. Ibid., p 107.
11. Ibid., pp 108-109.
12. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, p 95.
13. See Aroyo [Arroyo], Zh., "Contradictions in the System of Socialist Production Relations," POLITICHESKA PROSVETA [Political Education], No 3, 1982.
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15. Ibid., p 21.
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROBLEMS IN YOUNG CADRE SELECTION FOR NOMENKLATURA DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 37 No 17, 1982 (signed to press 26 Aug 82)  
pp 641-646

[Lead article by Helmut Mueller, member, SED Central Committee; second secretary, SED Berlin Bezirk Management; member, NEUER WEG editorial staff: "Cadre Work Means Teaching an Attitude of Commitment to the Party"]

[Text] The principal area of struggle for the members and candidates of our party, functionaries in the state, the economy and social organizations is the continued creation of a socialist society in our republic, particularly through the consistent implementation of the policies of principal objectives, of increasing the productivity of the economy and of securing the material and cultural standard of living of the people.

Recognition for the Tireless Efforts of the Cadres

We are proceeding successfully along the path laid out at the 10th Party Congress. The assessment given by comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the Fourth Central Committee Congress also represents a major recognition of the tireless efforts of the cadres in our party, of tens of thousands of nonaffiliated functionaries and friends of the parties allied with us. At the same time, his words: "All our experiences tell us that our greatest reserves lie in the proper use of the cadres," are a major appeal to the managements of party organizations. Under the Marxist-Leninist orientation of the party leadership, with its clear goals, a major process of maturation is taking place among the cadres as the decrees of the 10th Party Congress are carried out. A great number of functionaries who have been active for many years are proving themselves again, while young cadres are gathering valuable experience in struggle and management, which prepares them both theoretically and practically for fulfilling the demanding and complex tasks of the present and the future.

An Important Instrument of Leadership

On the basis of the decree of the Secretariat of the SED Central Committee of 7 July 1977, the cadre programs for the management of basic organizations and for Kreis management became important instruments of leadership for the orderly selection, training, education and employment of cadres in their area of responsibility. To assure continuous, qualified staffing of important functions in the future, an in-

dispensable requirement is the analysis of the situation concerning cadre policy, of political and specialized qualifications, the experience and attitudes of the party's manpower and the predictive assessment of the demands on operation and/or installation.

As directions in the development of our production profile and in scientific, technical and technological developments can be determined more accurately and over a longer term, there is a consistently greater demand in the cadre program for evidence about the need for university and technical school cadres and their specialized and political training and continuing education. Great importance attaches to the composition and distribution of party manpower in the individual main sections. Party managements that keep an eye on talented youth brigadiers and university and technical school graduates, particularly those from Soviet educational institutions, when working out the cadre programs, are acting correctly. They are also assuming that planning for the next generation of cadres always begins with the preparation of the best ones for acceptance into the ranks of the party. These are basic points of departure to ensure the leading role of the party in all sections, on all levels and at all times, as well as to take into consideration that cadre policy must always contribute to the exercise of power of the working class.

#### Outstanding Workers Are an Important Cadre Reservoir

In selecting functionaries for nomenklatura functions, as well as for the cadre reserve and the new generation, we pay particular attention that personal experience in professional life provides a foundation. Two-thirds of the comrades who are numbered among our cadre reserve began their professional development in production.

The Berlin Conference for Outstanding Workers, with its rich history of tradition, which constitutes a main reservoir for the development of workers cadres, plays an important part in the activity of the bezirk management, as well as in that of the kreis and party managements.

Concrete political-ideological education of the cadres plays a decisive part in the cadre programs of the party managements. Our party has at its disposal a great stock of functionaries who are experienced and qualified both politically and in special areas. Of the more than 1,100 who, for example, belong to the nomenklatura of the Berlin bezirk management, the majority have had many years of practical management experience. Almost 80 percent have had thorough training at party schools, and more than 60 percent have graduated from a university or technical school.

There are many comrades, colleagues and friends of youth in the cadre reserve for the different areas of the party, of state management, the economy, science, culture and social organizations who have made great advances in their education. They are constantly striving to implement successfully the tasks assigned to them by the party.

In our work we take into consideration that the degree and extent of management experience among the functionaries vary widely. Only about 10 percent of the functionaries managing the economy, and who belong to the nomenklatura of bezirk management, have been in their positions for more than 10 years. Most of them

acquired their principal experience in work and struggle in the 1970's. In other words: they were managing work in their area during a time in which we were executing the policy of major objectives under conditions when favorable factors such as relative detente in the international arena, mainly in Europe, were having an effect. In working with functionaries, special attention must therefore be given to the circumstance that the international situation has been substantially aggravated as a consequence of the policies of arms buildups, boycott and embargo pursued by the United States. Clarity concerning the changed conditions for struggle, the new, higher standards and the resulting consequences for management activity must be at the center of political-ideological and organizational work with functionaries.

#### On the Solid Ground of Our Policy

We can assume that functionaries in all areas always take their positions solidly on the ground of our party leadership's policy, determined by penetrating analysis, that they promote it and struggle for its realization. At the same time it cannot be overlooked that many functionaries in state and economic management organs are very quick to state that the general line of the party is clear to them and they would therefore like to deal "with practical matters" quickly. Unfortunately, the results of work show in many instances that the merely superficial solution of such problems as the connection between a policy of arms buildup and the economic war of imperialism against socialist countries and the resulting disturbances in the work of a combine, a factory or a collective is paid for dearly.

Too frequently there is still talk of the new demands of the 1980's, demands for higher quality and work effectiveness. But among the functionaries--and not depending on the length of their work--there are often astonished faces when the proof is presented that the demands that comrade Erich Honecker worked out at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Central Committee were not put on the agenda out of a clear blue sky and not from one day to the next. It is consistent with the continuity of our Central Committee's policy that today's objectives were worked out, prepared and established over the long term.

#### Thorough Analysis of the Situation Makes Vision More Acute

In his speech "The Socialist Revolution in the GDR and Its Prospects," comrade Erich Honecker indicated the signs of an intensified course of confrontation on the part of the most aggressive imperialist circles, which can lead to abrupt switches in the international arena. The resulting consequences for our party's policy were set out with complete clarity. The situation is the same regarding the requirements which result in order to ensure dynamic economic growth through determined and profound intensification of production, the most effective use of available funds and monies, increasing our exports, etc.

All the cadres who have made a thorough study of the analysis of the situation and the party leadership's setting of objectives and who have set themselves the same objectives, have sharpened and expanded their vision for their work. This is a lesson which must be taken to heart in connection with the assessment of the prospects for international class discussions which was made by the Fourth Congress of the Central Committee. Comrade Erich Honecker stresses that we must implement our

objectives "in the world as it is, not as many people imagine it to be." That means above all adjusting to the possibility that the international situation may worsen and that this will increase the strains and complications in the area of the national economy.

Thorough absorption of the overall policy of the party, of its strategy and tactics, and absorbing a knowledge of the governing laws, the course and the prospects of the class struggle represent an indispensable foundation for successful management. They are the Marxist-Leninist foundation that every functionary must master from the outset. It requires of the party managements that they combine firmness of principles with a great deal of empathy, patience and endurance in all their dealings with the cadres.

#### Study Historical Experiences Well

In training the cadres for present and future tasks, particularly in the economy, a knowledge of the historical experiences of our party plays a part that must not be underestimated. In the 37 years since the new beginning, there has not been a period which might be described as easy and uncomplicated. It is clear from a look at the age and party seniority of the cadres: The group of those who are not familiar with the difficult periods of our advance is constantly growing larger. One in five of the nomenklatura cadres in the Berlin bezirk management was born after World War II. In the upcoming generation of cadres there is no one who is older than 35. The number of comrades whose service with the party begins after 1961, a year which left a profound mark on the development of the GDR, is naturally increasing. Among the cadre reserve well over one-third did not become party members until after the Eighth Party Congress. Naturally it is almost 100 percent among the next generation of cadres.

In this context, great importance attaches not only to the presentation of our successful and struggle-filled way. The factors for victory are no less important. Such questions as permanently assuring the leading role of the party in all areas of social life, consolidating our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and cooperation with other brother states are not merely of theoretical importance. They must become part of the flesh and blood of every cadre.

It is the same with respect to solid unity with the workers, to our trust in the creativity, the willingness and ability to produce of the workers and the members of the scientific-technical intelligentsia and of youth in particular. Consequently, party managements are trying hard to impart to comrades of both sexes a good insight into the historical experiences of our development. The reason is: The greater their knowledge of the successful path we have covered and its causes, the firmer will be their conviction that we also have available full-fledged possibilities to master future demands, which continue to grow.

To bring these possibilities to full development--that is the principal responsibility of the cadres in implementing the decrees of the 10th Party Congress and in realizing the tasks established in the concluding words of comrade Erich Honecker at the Fourth Congress of the Central Committee. To do this requires thinking through the tasks thoroughly, great elan as well as objectivity, the enjoyment of taking risks and careful calculation. Enthusiastic agreement with the decrees of the Central Committee

and a basic organization's best program for struggle are worth nothing, if a determined and successful fight is not waged for a rapid increase in the economy's output, for the economically more effective use of science and technology and the manufacture of currency-profitable products.

In realizing the party's decrees, it is above all results that count in judging success. They are the criteria for the understanding of and for the degree of seriousness in affirming the party's policy. So the struggle to fulfil the 1982 plan and to achieve the additional output of 2 days production as well as ensuring the transmitted quotas for 1983 are constantly linked up with the judgement and education of functionaries in economic management.

In addition to the factors of learning, knowledge and experience, the continuing molding of an attitude of commitment to the party among the cadres is acquiring increasing importance. In this respect we feel a sense of obligation to Thaelmann's legacy. In Ernst Thaelmann's well-known letter to a fellow prisoner, he sketched the character traits of a revolutionary in the following words: "The worth and standing of an individual depend on his character. What is the most significant aspect of character in an individual? That he risks his entire being at every moment for the sake of the idea, to gain something more exalted. . . . Being a soldier of the revolution means: Keeping unbroken faith with the cause, . . . showing absolute reliability, confidence, valor and energy in all situations. . . . Loyal and firm, strong in character and confident of victory in action, in this way and only in this way will we . . . be able to help true socialism to final victory."

This party educational activity is most successful, as the experiences of the most advanced basic organizations prove, when it takes place during the course of work, in its attitude to people's everyday problems. Working with cadres is highly responsible work with people. As in general, individual relations, individual judgement and development play a crucial role in working with reserve and next generation cadres. Fundamentally, it is clear to everyone which criteria are involved in making a judgement: Party and state discipline, exemplary behavior in production, fighting to fulfil qualitative numbers for the plan, social activity in the collective and at home, aggressive explanation of our policy, independent additional political and job training, etc. What the attention of the managements must constantly be redirected to, is the sheer amount of the demands.

If a person is to be judged correctly, it is always a question of grasping his total personality, his actions, thoughts and emotions and getting to the bottom of the motives for his behavior. Examples of excessive demands can be matched by significantly more examples of satisfaction with normal work results, of tolerance in the face of what is deserving of criticism--in regard to political-ideological effectiveness, solidarity with a collective or an HGL [housing community leadership; or advanced-school labor-union leadership], restraint in confronting slackening on the job, wasting material, energy or finances. On occasion, eyes are inadmissibly closed when "someone kicks over the traces."

Naturally, a management is doing a disservice to the development of the cadres, if ideal standards or standards formed according to one's own self are applied to their development. Approaching the matter in such a subjective way does not produce good results. A person is served just as little by an uncritical attitude and being patted

on the shoulder. On the contrary: Anyone who shields a cadre from justified, pedagogically necessary and beneficial criticism, is harming the development of that comrade. Part of the development of cadres is being educated to adopt a party-like attitude to criticism and self-criticism.

#### Continuity in Work with the Cadres

The Fourth Congress of the Central Committee underlines the responsibility of all party managements for ensuring continuity in the area of cadre policy through regularly scheduled work with the cadre reserve and young next generation cadres. Party management is turning to this important task with increasing success. Good results in this area presuppose endurance. The development plans written down on paper will only come out correctly as the result of systematic work carried out over quite a long period.

It is proving to be good practice to have put this next generation of cadres under the tutelage of experienced functionaries, so that they can be talked to with patience and empathy and be given appropriate tasks that challenge their talents. This requires experienced party functionaries, who, as V. I. Lenin said, have mastered the art of employing "fresh new forces" and who possess courage in the sense of "giving these new forces the immediate opportunity of developing their talent and proving themselves in multifaceted work." (V. I. Lenin: Works, Vol 30, p 57).

For qualification, promotion in professional and social work takes precedence. In work and in activity on the collective, abilities in the political-ideological and organizational area can be recognized most quickly. Attending party schools, which is presently often the most concrete statement in the cadre programs about the development of next generation cadres, can only be one of various developmental steps.

In working to develop young cadres, we are turning our attention particularly to early selection and testing of FDJ functionaries, of youth brigadiers and members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia everywhere. Through the party managements, these selected cadres must be "set on the track," at the right time and with the proper perspective, towards becoming a professional revolutionary. This is important in the context of the "natural" development time preceding the principal professional activity in the party, in the state or in the economy becoming longer. Completing middle school, job training, military service in the case of the boys and university study make this the more urgent if "overage" next generation cadres are to be avoided.

In his address to the first kreis secretaries in February 1982, comrade Erich Honecker stressed this: "Working with the cadres is and will remain a key problem of management." Party managements are creating a fundamental precondition for the continuing execution of the party's policy by increasing their efforts to select from the group of young cadres and capable functionaries in our socialist youth association the cadre reserve and the next generation of cadres who, class conscious, in a feeling of solidarity with the masses, active and full of initiative, will struggle to implement the decrees of the 10th Party Congress and of Central Committee.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'EDUCATION POTENTIAL' SEEN 'UTILIZED INEFFECTIVELY'

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 21 Oct 82 p 6

[ 'Theory and Practice' feature article by Dr Rudolf Pfretzschnner, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Catchword Socialism--Special Characteristic: Higher Education--Privilege for Everyone?"]

[Text] Educational expenditures from first grade of general education polytechnical school to completion of education: 1) for skilled workers, 26,000 marks; 2) for vocational school cadre, 45,300 marks; 3) for college cadre, 84,000 marks.

No doubt, our citizens get the education, through the 10-grade polytechnical secondary school and solid vocational training so they can do a topnotch job at work and understand the complicated problems in international development and in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and the fraternal states.

Furthermore, an increasing segment of the working people are college or technical school graduates so they can cope with the demanding economic and scientific-technical tasks of the 1980's. In 1975, some 70.7 percent of people with jobs had completed graduate vocational training, in 1981, the figure had risen to 81.4 percent. The number of foremen and technicians rose from 3.2 million in 1970 to 4.7 million in 1981. The number of people working who were college or technical school graduates rose from circa 716,000 in 1970 to 1.4 million in 1981, it doubled in other words. That, even on international standards, marks a high educational level.

This high educational level is the result of a far-sighted and sound scientific educational policy by the SED and our socialist state. A comprehensive and many-sided state educational system provides our citizens with comprehensive general education, solid social science knowledge and high technical training. Our state allocates extensive material and financial funds for it. As the budget for 1981, presented to the People's Chamber and ratified by the deputies, shows, M 10.6 billion go to education and M 2.8 billion to science, technology and research. That is nearly 9 percent of total outlays.

Our working people are getting a fine education, and not only through our socialist state's educational system. Many learn much about Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the political economy, scientific communism, history and other social sciences through the educational institutions and other forms of training given by the SED and the other friendly parties, the trade unions, the youth association and other social organizations.

#### Educational Speed Is Developmental Speed

If one asks whether we need still more education, the answer can only be in the affirmative. No doubt, the learning process is something all workers are in more or less all their lives. And so this becomes an overall social concern.

The scientific-technical revolution in the 1980's places some specific requirements on the working people's educational level, however. E.g., a broad application of microelectronics in all economic fields calls in many ways for new knowledge and skills. The speed by which new skills and knowledge are acquired greatly determines the speed with which microelectronics can be introduced. Clarity, and the willingness and ability to acquire the latest and shift over to new occupations, therefore is an important educational goal.

#### Do We Get Enough From Our Educational Potential?

An equally important or even more important question now is whether we are by now using the GDR's educational potential efficiently enough for solving the tasks of the 1980's. And that question can surely be answered in the negative. In his concluding speech at the fourth session of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker said: "All our experience tells us that our largest reserves lie in correctly assigning our personnel. Enhanced production refining, on which our economic strategy is based, mainly requires making full economic use of our considerable potential in skilled labor." His critical assessment was that in 1981 still circa 12 percent of all college graduates and up to 22 percent of master workers were employed below their qualification levels. Some 18 percent of all technicians were only used as semiskilled or unskilled workers. All that means is that valuable knowledge and skills, capabilities and abilities of such working people are not used for solving our tasks to the proper degree.

Yet our society can as little afford the waste of educational potential as that of material. Significant reserves can still be tapped by a long-range and purposeful development and the most efficient assignment of the public labor capacity in line with acquired qualifications and occupations trained for.

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HUNGARY

PARTY MUST ACT TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Jeno Szanto: "The Moods of Our Society"]

[Text] One wonders if the concept designated in the title can be measured and manifested. Even a single individual's state of mind is influenced by many circumstances, ranging from his state of health to his working place, from the family to the street, to his concern for everyday supply, by which we mean both the provisions and the cultural standard of trade; furthermore, by the fulfillment of his cultural and artistic demands, even by the crowdedness of the transportation facilities (or very rarely the convenience of them), as well as the result of his favorite soccer team's game. The state of mind depends on these and many other things. In this sense, it is not stable. And how much more complicated a structure a country's society is!

Yet, for many years it has been the general view both here at home and abroad that the public state of mind in Hungary is clam, and the atmosphere of work and creativity can be noticed. This is especially valued greatly by the older generation, because they know what events have gone before and what course of development we took before the overwhelming majority of the population accepted and supported actively the policy of the party that is leading our country, and now live, work and think in the spirit of strengthening socialist national unity.

The public confidence and public state of mind are, so to speak, the peak of our attained achievements which we must preserve and strengthen since only mutual trustfulness can help our country through the severe tests to which the world politics, world economy, and their consequences, the difficulties of internal situation puts our people's political capability.

We can remember that hardly a decade ago, heaving a sigh of relief after the end of the imperialist aggression on Vietnam, and with the outlines of the European security conference at hand, in short, in the "classical" period of detente, how much differently we felt and judged the world and our own affairs. It is not boasting to bring to mind that the foreign trade of Hungary had operated roughly at zero balance before the first great oil shock. Then let us remember what shocks our economy has had to endure since then. But in spite of everything, in 1981, our import and export practically balanced each other, and at the same time we have made every outstanding payment at the designated

time--though our debts have considerably inflated and this year's interest has amounted to the total of hard currency export of a decade ago. To be more precise, here at home--though the steady rise of our living standard has been broken--the 12th Party Congress has bravely set the goals to improve our balance situation and at the same time to preserve the obtained achievements. We have, up till now, succeeded in fulfilling these goals. Few countries can claim that personal consumption has increased during these years. Most countries could hardly maintain it. In our country, on average of recent years, more than 100,000 cars, 300,000 television sets, of these 60,000 of them color, have been purchased. The level of savings deposits has increased by 50 billion forints since December 1978. Each year 82,000 to 83,000 apartments are built, and 1,100 to 1,200 elementary school rooms, 3,000 day nursery and 13,000 kindergarten spaces, 2,000 hospital beds are added. The demands, we know, are even greater, but these figures are significant to every man of thinking and understanding.

The important, mood-setting facts are: We place the internal supply over the export. We strive vigorously at remuneration in accordance with performance, namely, the more noticeable and practical translation of the socialist principles. Meanwhile our social policy aims firmly at increasing family income in conformity with our possibilities. In addition to the improvement of the country's financial situation, the protection of the living standard and a regulated pricing policy, we have maintained full employment. All these have shown our party's and our society's determination.

We could keep on listing the undeniable, evident achievements and these have strengthened the belief that our economic policy is sound and that the effort of those involved in the country's leadership and working actively for its implementation has not been in vain. One of the important, mood-setting facts is the conviction that the effort being made by the most responsible leaders are striving for the same thing as are the millions of working people and families. Hence stems the feeling of security which determines the people's civic and communal state of mind. We have reason to be proud of the achievements. But when we list our achievements, we do not do it from a sense of bubbling optimism. There is no reason for that. Because we must not overlook that the maintenance of the living standard--which applies to the whole population--has not been equally successful for all individuals or families. The situation is different for those whose income keeps pace with rising costs; and it is different for those families where, for example, the children who were students have now become skilled workers or professionals, that is, wage-earners. It is again different for those families where former active working members retires. The living conditions of about one-third of our society have become more difficult and we must how great attention and tact in regard to this and must alleviate their worries as much as our possibilities allow us. All this is an important factor of individual and family mood.

In the aggregate, however, our pride, which citizens of few countries can feel, can be fostered by the fact that in the midst of enormous difficulties we have preserved the world opinion of us and our prestige, and so far we have held our ground.

Nevertheless, the demand for correct information gathering makes it necessary to provide other facts. Just as a reminder: Several years ago, our party discussed both the reorganization of the national economic structure and the long-range foreign trade programs, as tasks in conjunction with each other. In both areas things have obviously made progress. However, we must know that we have not yet been able to offset the deterioration of international economic relations to the desired degree through greater efficiency. In other words, the challenge has not been met by a national economy in Hungary with solid consolidation and adjustment in detail to the situation, but by one that has to hold in hand constantly the helm of a storm-tossed ship and navigate it on high sea. The real, lasting and in the long-term, reassuring response to the aforementioned challenge can only be and should be given from the production side.

That is to say, it is out of the question that our achievements could possibly be due to any kind of favorable development of the world market. No, for every little step we have to fight. For the present and in the foreseeable future, there is no sign for such change in the world. Our public opinion is fully informed of the world political situation burdened with tensions. Our people understand that this situation has an adverse effect on detente and the maintenance and extention of economic relations based on mutual interests. Moreoever, the United States is leading a real world economic campaign, naturally first and foremost, against socialist countries; and, in accordance with the logic of capitalist competition, it does not spare its allies either. The unemployment which is striking the capitalist world is further tightening purchasing power and, with it, the market which in turn lead to further unemployment. And the vicious circle, for the time being, is broadening. All this has intensified the competition to extremes as everyone wants to sell, but to buy as little as possible. In this situation, only products of top quality, which meet world standards in technique and technology and are reasonably priced can make their way.

This has made the above-mentioned fact, that we can remain afloat if we can, first and foremost, quickly align our production, more understandable. That is why we are hearing more than ever about how conditions are being made stringent, and that greater discipline and economy are necessary. There is no denying that these strict orders of the time have perceivable effect on public mood. Not everyone cares for discipline. But the public confidence of the great majority of the people will surely be increased if they experience order, punctuality and determination at their working place. Only in this way can they work efficiently and create conditions to later improve their own living circumstances. Thus, the appeal to and effort for national economy will meet with acceptance. But thrift as an essential view and way of life should show itself not only in investments, material- and energy-saving, but also in forint savings in all areas of our life. In this regard, the words and actions must be congruent. Right is the laborer, the intellectual, the employee who, if expected to cling to every gram of material and every kilowat of energy, demands that no one should spoil the purchasing power of the forint with forced luxury solutions when simple solutions, appropriate to the socialist unpretentiousness would answer the purpose. Today this is simply not only a moral matter, but also a material matter and a matter of truthfulness! In the light of this the people will not harbour resentment against discipline, punctuality and economy

if they are equally mandatory for every one. In fact, it will improve their confidence, because the surrounding world will be more clear-cut, more trustworthy and more just for them.

The forint saving also dictates that not a single forint should be paid out for which there is no product coverage. The government has stated that during the summer some prices--among other things--had to be raised under the pressure of necessity, because from one month to the next more wages had been paid out than warranted by production results. That is, if we did not control forints here, there would be chaos and shortage of goods on the domestic market. We should not forget the balance of the national economy includes not only the external balance, but also the internal balance of the purchasing power and consumption fund.

If today there is anxiety in the public mood, the party organization and other activist organizations must, with forceful explanatory work, direct the strength hidden in this anxiety in a positive direction, to action. In production areas the best answer to that is the improvement of working conditions and the guarding of socialist security. Not everyone is able to take stock of world economic relations. But we must at least clarify the market situation within a profession, a branch, a product made there, and indicate the direction of its technical development. With this the proprietary consciousness, the understanding and the capacity to obtain a comprehensive view will increase.

The understanding of the situation, the appreciation of our achievements, and the everyday struggle for subsequent results can strengthen the conviction that, with the best of our strength and knowledge--and only with that--we can take up the challenges. The goal of this public mood is not to deny the concerns or to check the resulting anxieties, but to do our best to make everyone do everything to overcome those concerns and anxieties.

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ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU SPEECHES DURING SOUTHEAST ASIA TRIP REPORTED

Jakarta City Hall Ceremony

AU291833 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Nov 82 p 4

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at ceremony in the Jakarta City Hall occasioned by his meeting with Jakarta Governor R. Suprapto on 23 November]

[Text] Mr Governor, Madam, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for your greetings and wishes and in turn I extend to you, Mr and Madam Governor, the other representatives of the municipality and all inhabitants of Jakarta city, friendly greetings and best wishes on my own behalf and on behalf of my wife and all inhabitants of Bucharest city.

Indeed, this is our first visit to Indonesia at the invitation of President Suharto. During this visit we have concluded good agreements on developing relations between our countries and an active cooperation between Romania and Indonesia at the bilateral and world levels. I believe that Jakarta will occupy an important place in the context of these good relations.

We have gained very pleasant impressions about Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta, and about the life and work of its inhabitants. We have noted with great satisfaction the new buildings going up everywhere today in your capital city.

Socialist Romania's capital city, Bucharest, also has a history of over 500 years. Bucharest has played an important part in the great events of our fatherland's history and in the struggle to attain national unity, carry out the 1944 revolution for social and national liberation and ensure Romania's new and socialist development. Today, Bucharest continues to expand at a fast pace. Some of you who have visited Romania can confirm this fact. I hope that in the future, you Mr Governor, and other Jakarta representatives will visit Bucharest and our country and will be able to personally note the efforts being made by the Romanian people to build a better and more just system and ensure a dignified, free and independent life. In view of the agreements reached with President Suharto on developing Romanian-Indonesian

relations at all levels, I would like to take this opportunity--and I hope President Suharto agrees with me--to invite you, Mr and Madam Governor, together with a Jakarta delegation, to visit Romania and its capital city, Bucharest.

During the talks with President Suharto, we reached the joint conclusion that everything should be done for peace in the world, since only thus can our peoples implement their socioeconomic development programs and raise their levels of well-being and civilization. Therefore, I believe that Bucharest and Jakarta, the capital cities of Socialist Romania and the Republic of Indonesia, should actively cooperate in the struggle for peace, disarmament and relations based on full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states.

Once again I would like to thank you for the wishes and reception extended to us. I wish you and the representatives of Jakarta's citizens new success in your activity and efforts aimed at ensuring an ever richer and happier life for all the city's inhabitants.

I wish for good cooperation between the capital cities of our countries, Bucharest and Jakarta, and between our countries and peoples!

I wish all Jakarta's inhabitants and all citizens of the Republic of Indonesia well-being, happiness and peace! (Lively applause)

#### Toast at Singapore Dinner

AU291907 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Nov 82 pp 1 and 3

[Toast proposed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 24 November official dinner in Singapore given in his honor by Singaporean President C.V. Devan Nair]

[Text] Mr President, Mrs Nair, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for your reception and welcome and in turn extend to you greetings and best wishes.

Our visit to Singapore is an important step in developing Romanian and Singaporean relations and we are convinced that it will open up new prospects for cooperation between our countries at the bilateral and international level, in the struggle to assert the policy of peace, independence and cooperation in the world.

It is necessary for states, regardless of social system, to actively cooperate in promoting their socioeconomic development, ensuring peace and striving for independent development. One should proceed from the need to observe each people's right to independently choose its socioeconomic development path and system, without any outside interference. I am glad to note that the relations between Romania and Singapore are developing in this spirit.

Mr President,

A particular kind of tension has taken hold in international affairs as a result of the policy of redividing the spheres of influence and the policy of force and the threat of force. The world economic crisis is increasingly expanding and the arms race is continuously escalating. All this seriously jeopardizes the freedom and independence of peoples as well as the peace and security of all mankind.

In these circumstances, it is now absolutely necessary to ensure the unity and close cooperation of all states and peoples to halt the aggravation of the international situation, bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear, and ensure detente, cooperation and peace. Reality shows that strict observance of the principles of equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and each people's right to shape its destiny alone, without foreign interference, is the only rational way to guarantee peace and security.

Romania firmly speaks out for resolving all conflicts and contentious problems between states through peaceful negotiations alone. In this respect, I would like to mention first the Middle East problems. We believe it necessary to do everything possible for a lasting and overall peace, for resolving the Palestinian people's problems on the basis of their right to self-determination and the creation of their own state and for ensuring the independence and sovereignty of all states in that region.

We believe that other conflicts, including the problems of Southeast Asia, should be resolved in the same spirit. Romania actively supports a negotiated resolution of the problem of Kampuchea on the basis of national reconciliation and by ensuring the independence, neutrality and nonaligned status of that country.

As a European country, Romania pays particular attention to questions of security and cooperation in Europe and works to ensure that the Madrid meeting concludes with good results and that a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe will be convened. We advocate the continuation of meetings devoted to peace and cooperation. We believe that everything possible should be done to halt the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, bring about the withdrawal of existing ones and create a united Europe of cooperation and peace, without any kind of nuclear arms.

As a developing socialist country, Romania works along with other developing countries to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order based on full equality, which can ensure the faster progress of all countries, including those lagging behind, and world economic stability.

The solution of today's complex problems requires that everything be done to ensure the equal participation of all states, regardless of size or social system, to resolve them; it also requires an increase in the role of the United Nations and other international bodies to ensure peace, cooperation and independence.

I would like to mention with great satisfaction the active cooperation of our countries in the international bodies in solving various complex problems in the interest of each nation and of peace in the world.

We are convinced that peoples everywhere, by acting in unity and solidarity, can halt the course toward disaster and can ensure peace and mankind's basic right to existence and independence. Before nuclear bombs start falling, let us do everything possible to prevent their ever being put to use, let us bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear!

In the conviction that our visit to the Republic of Singapore and the talks to be held will give new impetus to relations between our countries and peoples, I would like to propose a toast to:

Your health, Mr President and Mrs Nair!

The health of all of you!

The happiness of the people of the Republic of Singapore!

Cooperation between our peoples!

For peace! (lively applause)

Toast to Malaysian Sovereign

AU291727 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

["Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu" at the 25 November official dinner given for him in Kuala Lumpur by the king of Malaysia]

[Text] Your Majesty the King of Malaysia, Your Majesty the Queen of Malaysia, Mr Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen. We are happy to be visiting your beautiful country, and on this occasion to convey to you, on behalf of myself and my wife, cordial greetings and best wishes. We want to express warm thanks for the hospitality accorded to us on the soil of friendly Malaysia and for your welcoming wishes.

Our visit to Malaysia--the first by a Romanian head of state to your country--indeed constitutes a historic moment in Romanian-Malaysian relations.

Although Romania and Malaysia are located at great geographical distance from each other, our countries are developing a fruitful cooperation in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect and of the principles of equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty. In the 15 years since we established diplomatic relations, we have intensified exchanges of visits at various levels which have contributed to a better mutual understanding. Similarly, on the basis of the commercial agreement and the agreement on economic and technical cooperation between Romania and Malaysia, our economic and commercial exchanges have been continuously developing. In March this year we

commissioned our first joint economic venture: The Pekan assembly facility for "Roman" trucks. We are confident that during our visit and the talks we will have we will conclude additional agreements and sign new conventions, thus opening up even broader prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration between our countries.

The development of Romanian-Malaysian relations demonstrates that when two countries consistently observe the principles of equality, independence and respect for each nation's right to independently decide on its destiny, without any foreign interference, they can develop sound relations of mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration, whatever their social systems. In point of fact, life itself has shown that only on the basis of those principles can the states maintain fruitful relations and safeguard international peace and detente.

We live today in very complex times, a time of great tension in the world. The economic crisis is deepening and the arms race is being intensified; that seriously threatens the peace, independence and socioeconomic progress of nations. The policy of zones of influence and of redividing them, and the policy of force and diktat are still being pursued.

The peoples, however, are increasing their opposition to those policies, and are striving to defend their independence and their right to live their lives as they want to, without any foreign interference.

The fundamental problem of our times is to ensure peace. In view of the escalation of the arms race and of the danger of a destructive nuclear war, every possible effort must be made to defend peace. Nuclear bombs will not select or differentiate between social systems, between philosophical or any other concepts; they will sow death everywhere, will destroy the great achievements of human civilization, and will endanger life itself. Faced with such prospects, the nations must join their efforts and closely cooperate to eliminate the policies of confrontation and war, to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to safeguard the supreme right of nations and of people to life, to a free and dignified existence, and to peace.

We must do everything possible to eliminate force from international relations, to settle all interstate relations only through negotiations. Life has shown that there is no problem, however difficult it may seem, that cannot be solved peacefully if the sides proceed from the right of each people to develop freely and independently, without any foreign interference, if they are reasonable and if they grasp the fact that conflicts or a new world war constitute a grave danger for all mankind, for all the nations in the world.

In this spirit, Romania consistently advocates a peaceful solution in the Middle East so as to establish a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that area based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and on a solution to the Palestinian problem--in line with that people's right to self-determination and to have an independent state. In the Middle East there is room enough for both an independent Palestinian state and for the State of Israel, and both must coexist peacefully, as must all the countries in that area.

In the same spirit, efforts must be intensified to peacefully settle problems and conflicts, especially those in Southeast Asia in keeping with the interests of peace and security, and permitting the free and independent development of all nations, without any foreign interference. Kampuchea has the right to live in freedom and according to its wishes, free of foreign troops on its territory, and has a right to pursue an independent and nonaligned policy. We believe that solving those problems and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free of any foreign interference, can make a major contribution to abating the present tension and bolstering confidence and cooperation in that area and throughout the world.

Your country, which is in favor of and resolutely militates for developing regional cooperation in the various parts of the world, particularly appreciates the contribution that the ASEAN member states can make to promoting cooperation and collaboration among the nations in the area and to the cause of understanding and peace there.

There are many grave international problems that must be solved through the joint efforts of nations. We Europeans are concerned with and devote special attention to the Madrid meeting, which should conclude with the best possible results. We hope that it will convene a conference on confidence and disarmament and that it will ensure the continuity of meetings for peace, cooperation and security. We are struggling to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and to forge a united Europe of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons.

We devote great attention to developing cooperation among all the Balkan countries and to establishing there an area free of nuclear arms and foreign military bases, an area of peaceful cooperation.

Reality has shown that one of the gravest problems of the contemporary world that must be urgently solved is that of eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new economic order. The continuous deepening of the world economic crisis, the policy of high credit and interest rates, the discriminatory practices and the inequitable international relations in general have aggravated the situation of the developing countries and have further deepened the gap between poor and rich countries. In view of that, all possible efforts must be made to launch negotiations and to achieve constructive solutions to ensure the more rapid progress of the developing countries, to pave the way for socioeconomic progress, stability and for the development of the world economy. We believe that the developing countries must consolidate their solidarity and cooperation even further. For that purpose, we recommend the organization of a high-level conference of those countries to discuss the complex problems of underdevelopment and of a new world economic order and to set down a common strategy in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and for a new world economic order based on equality and equity and on mutual advantage.

Romania resolutely recommends that all international problems be settled with the equal participation of all the states, regardless of social system or size. Thus, a more important role must be played by the small and medium-size countries and by nonaligned and developing countries, which are in the majority

in the world and which are directly interested in a policy of equality, national independence, cooperation and peace.

The role and contribution of the United Nations to solving problems and democratizing international relations must be increased.

We hope that Romania and Malaysia--which actively cooperated at the United Nations and in other international bodies, and generally hold common positions on many contemporary issues--will cooperate even more closely in the future, in the interests and for the benefit of their peoples and of the general cause of detente, cooperation, national independence and peace.

Your Majesty, we must do everything possible to strengthen the joint actions of nations everywhere, since they are the ones that have to bear the brunt of war and of economic crisis, that can stop the march of international affairs toward an abyss, and can ensure the resumption of the policy of detente, the triumph of reason, peace and social and national justice.

Convinced that our visit to Malaysia, our talks and the agreements we will conclude will give a fresh impetus to our cooperation and friendship, I propose a toast to:

- The health of His Majesty the king of Malaysia!
- The health of Her Majesty the queen of Malaysia!
- The health of Mr Prime Minister!
- The progress and happiness of the friendly Malaysian people!
- The Romanian-Malaysian friendship and cooperation!
- The health of all of you!
- Peace and cooperation in the world! (Lively applause)

CSO: 2700/39

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU TALKS TO INDONESIAN NEWSMEN

BK231139 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0843 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Text] Jakarta, 23 Nov (ANTARA-OANA)--President Suharto and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania hold the same view on international issues, particularly concerning world peace and formation of a new world economic order.

"We entertain the same view and President Suharto also believes that all nations should mutually respect each other's sovereignty and do not interfere in the affairs of other countries," said Romanian President Ceausescu Tuesday here answering news papermen's questions.

The Romanian president arrived here Monday on a three-day state visit.

He made this statement after he had a second meeting with President Suharto Tuesday morning for one hour beginning 0900 hours local time (0200 GMT) at Istana Merdeka. Their first talks took place Monday morning.

Said President Ceausescu through an interpreter, "We have drawn the conclusion that cooperation should be stepped up and bolstered in order to attain a better international life."

Queried if during his talk with President Suharto he had touched on the relations between Indonesia and the People's Republic of China, the Romanian state visitor said "No".

However Ceausescu added that the question of Indonesia-China relations should be settled between the two countries themselves.

Asked if the Indochina question including the Kampuchean problem had been touched upon, President Ceausescu diplomatically replied, "We discussed international problems and questions relevant to the mutual interest of Indonesia and Romania".

He stressed the necessity of peace and cooperation among all nations for the sake of the realization of a new world economic order.

This press statement was made as President Ceausescu left Istana Merdeka where he had met with President Suharto on his way to Wisma Negara (State Guest House).

He had earlier refused to make any press statement but seeing he was being followed by newsmen he finally acceded to talk to them if only for five minutes.

Tuesday morning President and Mrs Elena Ceausescu visited the Kalibata heroes cemetery and the beautiful Indonesia mini park.

CSO: 2020/5

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU TOAST AT DINNER IN JAKARTA

AU251648 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 82 p 3

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 22 November dinner given for him in Jakarta by Indonesian President Suharto]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, Mrs Suharto, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cordially thank you for the invitation to visit Indonesia and for the welcome and hospitality extended to us and in turn I extend to you, Mr President and Mrs Suharto, all your aides and all the friendly Indonesian people warm greetings and best wishes.

Our visit to your beautiful country is an expression of the positive evolution of Romanian-Indonesian relations and proof of the common desire to give ever broader dimensions to these ties.

We have the pleasure of noting that the Romanian-Indonesian relations have developed considerably in recent years. We believe that the ever growing economic and scientific-technical potential of Romania and Indonesia presents great opportunities for developing broad and mutually advantageous cooperation, particularly in such important economic sectors of mutual interest as the extracting industry, petrochemistry, machine building and so forth.

The different social systems of our countries should not be an obstacle to developing broad international cooperation. As a matter of fact, life clearly proves that in this day and age all states should develop ties of cooperation based on full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. Our countries act in this spirit and it is in the same spirit that we conducted our talks today. Therefore, I express the conviction that we will further stimulate Romanian-Indonesian relations during this visit.

Mr President, the Socialist Republic of Romania is fully engaged in implementing a broad program of socioeconomic development and raising the overall material, intellectual and civilization level of all the people; at the same time it actively promotes a policy of cooperation, peace and detente among all states, regardless of social system.

We are very concerned about the tension in international affairs, the scope of the arms race and economic crisis and the worsening of the situation in the developing countries.

It is true that the peoples are determined to powerfully assert their determination to promote a policy of peace and independence and to ensure their own socioeconomic development. Reason and common sense must triumph in the struggle between these two contradictory trends in international affairs; everybody should comprehend the meaning of peace and show respect for each nation.

Many weapons, particularly nuclear, have been accumulated in the world; they can destroy all of mankind several times over. Therefore, the basic problem of our age is to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear, secure peace and defend the vital right of men and peoples to a free and dignified development, life and peace.

We must do everything possible to resolve the contentious problems existing in various parts of the world through negotiations alone. No matter how difficult or long such negotiations are, they are much better than wars and represent the only way of ensuring the free existence of peoples and peace in the world.

In this respect, it is enough to just mention the Middle East problems. We believe that everything should be done for an overall peace in the area leading to Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem by creating an independent Palestinian state. There should be an independent Palestinian state and the State of Israel in the Middle East and relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation should be developed between all states.

This is how we believe that other problems, too, including those in Southeast Asia and Indochina, should be resolved. We appreciate the position taken by Indonesia and the ASEAN countries for a political solution of problems in that part of the world and for turning Southeast Asia into an area of peace and cooperation among all states.

A very serious situation has developed now in Europe as a result of the concentration there of the most important weapons, including nuclear ones and the existence of the two military blocs. Romania, therefore, firmly works to successfully conclude the Madrid meeting on security and cooperation, convene a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe and ensure the continuity of meetings on cooperation and peace started in Helsinki.

We deem it necessary to do our best to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, to seek the withdrawal of existing missiles and to create a united Europe without nuclear arms.

In this respect, we attach great significance to cooperation among Balkan countries and turning that region into nuclear-free zone, without foreign bases.

One of the serious problems facing mankind today is the growing gap between rich and poor countries. Concerning the developing countries, we should work to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation so as to give new impetus to talks between developing and developed countries in order to attain a new international economic order.

In order to resolve all problems it is necessary to ensure the equal participation of all nations, regardless of size or social system. We attach great importance to small and medium-sized countries and the nonaligned movement. Likewise, we deem it necessary to do everything possible to increase the role of the United Nations and other international bodies to democratically resolve the complex problems in international affairs.

As is well known, Mr President, large demonstrations against war and for peace have taken place and continue to take place in Europe. One can say that--in order to attain peace, establish a new economic order and build a better and more just world--the peoples must play a more decisive role and firmly impose their will.

I would like to note with much satisfaction that, concerning the complex problems of international affairs, Romania and Indonesia cooperate actively in international bodies. This cooperation proceeds from the fact that our peoples want peace and want to live in freedom, independence and equality, which actually all nations wish for themselves. We are convinced that this cooperation will play an important role in the future, too, in solving international problems.

I would like to again express the conviction that our visit and talks will open up new prospects for cooperation between our countries, for the benefit of both peoples and in the interest of the cause of international peace and cooperation and independence for each nation.

With this conviction, please allow me to raise my glass and toast:

An ever more durable cooperation between Romania and Indonesia and between our people!

The well-being and happiness of the friendly Indonesian people!

Your health Mr President and Mrs Suharto!

The health of all of you. (loud applause)

CSO: 2700/35

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU TOASTS PAKISTANI LEADER IN KARACHI

AU252050 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 82 p 2

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 21 November Karachi dinner given in his honor by Pakistani President Ziaul Haq]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for the hospitality and cordial reception extended to us and for your words of appreciation about the Romanian people and the cooperation between Romania and Pakistan. We are glad that this short visit gives us the opportunity to meet again with you and your aides and to warmly greet you and the friendly Pakistani people.

Indeed, broad relations of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation are developing between our peoples as well as close cooperation at the international level. We attach great importance to cooperation between our countries and believe that your visit to Romania and the talks and understandings reached on that occasion have marked a new and important point in the development of this cooperation and these ties.

Both Romania and Pakistan are firmly engaged along the road of independent socioeconomic development; hence, strengthening cooperation between them becomes all the more important. The proceedings of the joint Romanian-Pakistani governmental commission, which concluded recently, and the conclusions they reached will mark an important point and open up new prospects for implementing agreements concluded and developing a comprehensive and mutually advantageous cooperation.

It is worth mentioning the fact that relations between our countries are based on principles of full equality of rights, mutual advantage and noninterference in domestic affairs; therefore, they are recording an ever more powerful development.

Life and world events clearly demonstrate that the peoples should firmly act to continuously consolidate their national independence by increasing the economic potential of their countries and improving the living standard of the

people as a decisive element of strengthening each nation's independence and sovereignty. It is all the more necessary to stress this point how that the world economic crisis has worsened and such trends as interference in the affairs of certain states, the imposition of political conditions and the widening of gaps between rich and poor countries are appearing in international affairs.

As is well known, serious tension has developed in international affairs: the economic crisis is becoming worse and the scope of the arms race ever larger, all of which seriously jeopardizes peace and the independence and socio-economic progress of peoples. One can state that today the issues of halting the arms race, bringing about disarmament, primarily nuclear, and securing the peace of all nations are the key tasks of our age. The current level of armaments and the prospect of a devastating nuclear war necessarily require that everything be done to defend peace. Nuclear bombs will not be choosy and will not take into account any kind of difference in social system, philosophical concept or anything else. They will spread death everywhere equally and will destroy huge achievements of human civilization. Proceeding from this we believe that we should do our best to resolve contentious problems between states through negotiations alone.

It is in this spirit that we view the solution of problems in your area, including the problems in Afghanistan; such as solution should ensure Afghanistan's independence and sovereignty, put an end to any outside interference and create possibilities for the Afghan people to independently resolve the problems of their democratic socioeconomic development, along the road of progress, in accordance with their wishes.

This is how we also view the serious problems in the Middle East. Indeed, Israel's aggressive actions in Lebanon have created a very complex situation. World public opinion has firmly advocated an end to this intervention, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and respect for Lebanon's independence, integrity and sovereignty. We believe that everything should be done now to reach an overall peace in the Middle East, which should also resolve the problem of the Palestinian people by ensuring their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state. There are, of course, several proposals in connection with what should be undertaken to this end. We believe that all of them should be taken into consideration. In this respect, one should convene an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestinians and the PLO. There must be an independent Palestinian state in the Middle East as well as the state of Israel and all states should establish relations of peace and good-neighborliness between them. Even the recent events in Lebanon proved that there can be no military solution and that everything should be done toward a political and negotiated solution.

There are many problems in international affairs. In this respect, I would just like to mention the concern of European countries with ensuring that the Madrid meeting attains positive results in strengthening security and cooperation and ensuring the continuity of meetings started in Helsinki and convenes a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe.

We are concerned with halting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and bringing about the withdrawal of existing ones.

Concerning the Balkans, we advocate a nuclear-free zone, without foreign military bases, and peaceful cooperation among all Balkan states.

I deem it necessary to briefly mention the very serious problems of under-development. The developing countries should increase their cooperation and solidarity and should act in greater unity to make sure that the rich countries adopt a constructive stand at the current negotiations with a view to establishing a new international economic order. During the talk we shall conduct this evening, Mr President--it's true, the hour will be pretty late--we will undoubtedly discuss these very important problems both for our countries and all the developing ones.

Romania firmly speaks out for resolving all complex international problems with the equal participation of all states, regardless of social system and size. Of course, we understand the responsibilities of the great powers, but we also understand that problems cannot be solved by the great powers alone and that all peoples should assume responsibility and actively participate in attaining agreements that will ensure the right of each nation to free and independent development.

I would also like to stress that our position on complex international problems are the same or very close and that during our talks in Bucharest we reached joint conclusions on strengthening our cooperation and participation in resolving these problems.

One should work to strengthen the role of nonaligned countries in international affairs, to strengthen their unity and cooperation and the solidarity and unity of developing countries.

We would like Romania and Pakistan to continue to actively cooperate internationally--along with cooperating for their socioeconomic development--for a policy of peace, national independence, detente, each nation's socioeconomic progress and peace.

Although today's visit is very short, it is part and parcel of the good relations between our countries and ourselves personally and I hope that our talks tonight will contribute to further developing Romanian-Pakistani cooperation and friendship.

With this conviction, I wish the friendly Pakistani people ever greater success in their socioeconomic development, well-being and happiness!

I wish for an ever broader and more lasting cooperation between our peoples and countries, between Romania and Pakistan!

To your health, Mr President!

To the health of all of you! (lively applause)

CSO: 2700/35

ROMANIA

FRENCH JOURNAL DISCUSSES PROBLEMS FACING REGIME

Paris ETUDES in French Oct 82 pp 307-321

[Article by Edith Lhomel: "Romania: A Regime With Its Back to the Wall"]

[Text] Romania is currently going through a political, economic and financial crisis that has led many Western observers to liken the country to a "second Poland." It is true that these two Eastern countries exhibit several identical symptoms of crisis. In the past two years, the Romanian economy has in fact experienced a major drop in its growth rate. Its foreign debt amounts to over \$10 billion, while shortages and rationing measures have hit the main food products. The Romanian Communist Party (RCP), headed by the all-powerful Nicolas Ceaucescu, has tried, in a kind of general panic, to remain the sole undisputed master of the country by resorting to increasingly repressive measures. Confronted with this totally discredited government, the people are not only endeavoring to respond to the gradual undermining of their slim gains, but also to organize.

While it is undeniable that 17 years of "Ceaucescuism" have affected the country's domestic and foreign policy in a very specific way, so that likening the case of Poland to that of its Romanian counterpart would, with respect to an analysis of the causes of the current crisis, amount to a pure amalgam, it is nevertheless indispensable to measure the implicit economic, political and social effects of the events in Poland over the past two years on the current Romanian crisis.

For a long time, Romania has appeared as the *enfant terrible* of the Eastern bloc countries. As soon as he took over the reins of power in March 1965, Nicolas Ceaucescu undertook to erect as the main axiom of his policies what his predecessor Gheorghui-Dej had already outlined. Consequently, there was a fierce affirmation of national independence, one so spectacular that very quickly, the exhibition of independence was considered as a kind of possible path toward "desatellization." It is true that Ceaucescu's diplomacy succeeded, thanks to a shrewd combination of boldness and caution, in imposing the image of a "national communism" in a country where the exaltation of patriotism and national sovereignty was destined to serve as a catalyst for an economic take-off made all the more laborious and costly because it intended to make use of the least possible "aid" from its powerful neighbor. The independent line followed by the RCP was to lead to a rapid industrialization economically speaking and internationally, to an intense, all-points diplomatic and

commercial activity. The Romanian "dissidence," whose birth goes back to the RCP Central Committee resolution of 27 March 1964,<sup>1</sup> enabled Ceaușescu to enjoy definite popularity during the years from 1965 to 1970. A large part of the population then gave its support for policies which, although they did not procure immediate and substantial material satisfactions -- presented by the authorities, we should note, as the main objective of the mode of economic development adopted -- did have the undeniable merit of giving a people whose nationalist feelings had long been repressed the possibility of peaceful resistance to the meddling of the big Soviet brother. As Serban Orescu so accurately put it: "In evoking the spectre of a Soviet threat, Ceaușescu is trying to impose a "patriotic silence" on the Romanian people. By publishing the rigorous orthodoxy of Romanian communism, he is asking the Soviets to observe an "ideological silence."<sup>2</sup>

It has therefore been through this astute but dangerous dialectic that Romania has been able, until recent years, to appear on the international scene as a kind of champion of national independence, which, through a ricochet effect, could not fail to constitute an ideal springboard for the development of privileged economic and political relations with both Western nations and all the countries of the Third World.

But the constant contradiction between the liberties taken in international politics and the lack of freedom at home has now been greatly exacerbated by a resurgence of tension in international relations and the worsening of economic and financial difficulties inside the country.

#### Undivided Power

These difficulties, which are both the cause and consequence of the economic strategy chosen, have led to a substantial hardening of the regime, which, clinging to its privileges, is beginning to exhibit its most flagrant defects, helped by the current crisis. These defects partly stem from the monopolization of the government by a limited group headed by Ceaușescu and several members of his family: For example, his younger son, Nicu Ceaușescu, has had a meteoric career, to say the least, and now appears to be the successor to the throne, while his wife, Elena Ceaușescu, is the regime's No 2 man, after remaining in the shadow of her husband until 1972.

The prevailing nepotism is accompanied by a concentration of power in the hands of Ceaușescu, who combines the duties of secretary general of the party, chairman of the Council of State, the Council of Defense and the High Council for Economic Development, and finally, president of the republic. As for the personality cult which the person of the secretary general enjoys, it has ended up by destroying any energy in Romanian political life, reducing it to the megalomania of a single man.

And yet, in this type of "personal" regime, the Romanian Communist Party remains the privileged instrument of control and recruitment. The leaders are members whose essential quality is obviously loyalty to the "Conducator." Membership in the RCP has recently gone from 3,044,336 in 1980 to 3,150,812 in 1981 for a population of over 22 million.<sup>3</sup> Application of the principle of

a "rotation of leaders," which results in frequent demotions and shakeups both in the party and the government, is aimed at preventing the formation of any area of dissent within the realm of power.<sup>4</sup> The frequent changes in political personnel also serve to provide an exasperated population with veritable scapegoats, thus concealing the source of economic difficulties. The "leadership walse" was particularly noticeable in 1981 (eviction of the ministers of oil, finance, the food industry, radio-television, tourism and sports) and on 21 May, resulted in an actual reshuffling, the main reasons for which escape the observer. Prime Minister Ilie Verdet, brother-in-law of the president's wife, was removed and the group of deputy prime ministers, previously made up of eight members (all removed), was reduced to four, including the sister and brother of Elena Ceaucescu. The only common trait of these shakeups since 1971 has been a strengthening of Ceaucescu's personal power.

Confronted with the rising discontent of the population, increasingly aware of being totally deprived of the fruits of its economic and political emancipation effort, the regime is now trying to strengthen the ideological and political hold of the party over all economic, cultural and social life. No pocket of dissent, however timid it might be, will henceforth be tolerated by a government at the end of its rope. For example, the failure of the attempt to rein in the Writers Union in July 1981, one of the rare institutions to retain a democratic type operation, led authorities to use strong-arm tactics in May. The repression of intellectuals resulted in a wave of arrests in scientific and literary circles, while the discovery of an unusual conspiracy aimed at withdrawing Romania from the Warsaw Pact and orchestrated by a transcendental meditation sect -- whose official *raison d'etre* in Bucharest was in no way subversive *a priori* -- provided an excuse for many dismissals among the psychologists, anthropologists and musicians. In order to strengthen the party's authority locally and in the enterprises, control of the economic and social activities of the Workers Councils was recently taken from the unions and given directly to the local committees of the RCP. One must add here the creation of a new corps of propagandists made up of personalities occupying high posts in the party, government and mass organizations. Their task is to disseminate the political and economic decisions made at the highest levels and to train other propagandists throughout the country.

The establishment of these new corps of instructors, whose purpose is to regiment the population more tightly and to reintroduce a kind of internal vigor into the highly bureaucratic party apparatus, is joined by a stepped up organization of Romanian youth. In March 1982, membership in the Union of Communist Youth, whose secretary is Nicu Ceaucescu, and the Associations of Communist Students was declared obligatory for all young people from the age of 14 on up and a campaign to extend enrollment in the unions to young people between the ages of 26 and 30 was launched through the means of a new type of membership: associate membership. The royal power exercised by Ceaucescu is thus accompanied by an ever increasing consolidation of the hold of the RCP and its auxiliaries over all areas of life of the Romanian people.

The events in Poland exert great influence here, for while the Romanian leaders welcomed with obvious relief the attempt to crush Solidarity, the "expression of antisocialist elements," they nevertheless distrust the role

played by the army, a role which the Romanian press has practically not mentioned. In their opinion, the POUT was to remain the "principal guarantor" of the implementation of the line of socialist renewal" and it is clear that Bucharest looks askance upon the shelving and loss of authority in Poland of the Communist Party, which in Romania represents the essential bulwark of power.

#### Impact of the Polish Crisis

In addition, the Polish crisis has provided the opportunity for a singular distortion in the principles of noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual respect between nations, principles which Romania reaffirmed emphatically and not without flair at the time of the occupation of Prague in 1968 by the Warsaw Pact troops, inasmuch as its own troops did not participate in the maneuvers. But times have changed. Romania, mainly concerned about protecting itself from the possible consequences of the "Polish renewal," has not hesitated to join the other Eastern countries in bringing pressure on Solidarity. Between the preservation of the renowned "autonomy" of Romania vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the need, in the face of the budding economic crisis combined with the danger of an explosion of popular discontent, to check a possible "Polish-type contagion," Ceaușescu has not hesitated to adopt the second position, aware of the erosion of his political legitimacy.

Since the mood for international detente has passed, the "original" position of Romania, consisting of escaping, at least outwardly, the logic of the blocs by playing the card of nonalignment, is at least shaken. The possibility of a "Romanian way" has lost even more credibility on the international scene since Romania then decided, given the gravity of the economic situation, to issue an appeal to the CEMA organization at the Sofia summit conference in July 1981. The appeal asks for development of economic cooperation between Eastern countries with it understood, according to the wishes expressed by the Romanians, that such cooperation should favor the least industrialized CEMA countries, of which it is one.

Caught in its own contradictions and unable to continue to mobilize its opinion on the theme of the "foreign threat," the regime has decided to become the "poet of pacifism." Beyond the very ambiguity of the move, it is clear that the regime hopes to make the theme of peace and disarmament a kind of safety valve for the discontent of the population. But can it really work and thus make Romanians forget their daily difficulties? That Ceaușescu should once again resort to the proven technique consisting of diverting attention from internal problems through the use of international action, in order to once again defer the balance sheet of 25 years of exaggerated industrialization, now sanctioned by an impressive foreign debt, today seems obvious.

#### Structural Crisis

The first signs of a veritable crisis stemming from an economic strategy which, beginning in the 1960's, consisted of giving priority to rapid industrialization of the country at the expense of agriculture, however promising,<sup>5</sup> are not new. While a general slowdown in growth rates could be seen in the 1970's in

all East European countries with a planned economy, encouraging them to use more moderation in their 5-year plans, Romania nevertheless decided to have a plan as ambitious for 1971-1975 as previous ones, only accentuating the already perceptible distortions of an industrialization with exaggerated objectives. Overinvestment and low productivity, the lack of adaptation of labor to technology bought at a dear price from the West, the irrationality and giant size of some facilities, the backwardness of agriculture and chronic supply problems then began to hinder the country's economic development in a profound way.

Anxious to make their country an industrial power, the Romanian leaders obstinately insisted on giving it a petrochemical and iron and steel industry requiring large quantities of raw materials, along with other advanced industries such as data processing and computers, aerospace and automobiles, whose products, in order to be competitive, implied the purchase of a costly technology which the country bought on credit from European partners. The international situation from 1970 to 1975 found Western bankers only too ready to loan without restrictions to countries like Poland or Romania that constituted "good risks."

Initially adequate in a country with an essentially agricultural tradition, the Ploesti oil deposits were soon too small to supply a large petrochemical industry. Romania, which became a net importer of energy in 1975, was thus forced, like Western nations, to suffer the full effect of the oil crisis, worsened in its case by the Iranian-Iraqi conflict which, by depriving it of two of its main suppliers, forced it to turn to the USSR in 1979<sup>6</sup> for part of its supplies.

But the problem of the profitability of heavy industries with increasingly prohibitive operating costs does not stem solely from the circumstances of the international market. The poor results obtained in mining and petroleum extraction compared with programmed objectives -- disproportionate compared with extracting capacities -- are a clear example of the short-sightedness of the political and economic leadership of a country with resources that are definitely good, but sold off too cheaply and even overestimated.

#### Debt Trap

Maintaining the refining capacity of the petrochemical industry therefore required growing oil imports, causing a rapid deterioration in the trade balance (\$2-billion deficit for oil products alone in 1981). This limitation became all the worse because since agriculture was neglected for the benefit of industry, Romania also began to have a deficit in its agrofood trade in 1978. Nor is that all. Like Poland and Hungary as well, Romania is now heavily in debt to the Western countries, as the burden of service on the debt has rapidly neutralized the anticipated advantages of the borrowing policy. Having adopted the theorem of Polish leader E. Gierek: "We go into debt today to build the plants of the future whose production will make it possible to repay the debt," the Romanian economy turned out to be incapable of supplying truly competitive products and on time. Caught in the trap of the spiraling debt, Romania, declared in default in November 1981, had to officially admit, after much beating around the bush, that it had to restructure its

short-term debt, amounting to over 40 percent of its foreign debt (an estimated \$10-\$12 million). This request for a partial rescheduling concerning payments due in 1981 and 1982 sowed panic among Western financial circles. Actually, the additional charge stemming from the rescheduling of the Polish debt clearly hurt Romania, as the creditors' threshold of tolerance had been lowered by it. This element of "collective psychology" was joined by the lack of transparency of the Romanian economy: The authorities reticence about giving out reliable statistics only accentuated the distrust of Western lenders.

#### International Monetary Fund: Start of a Solution?

The only short-term solution to the problem of Romanian indebtedness seems possible only from the IMF, which Romania joined in 1972 in order to enjoy the same advantages as developing countries and desirous of having easier access to Western markets. The possibility of such aid<sup>7</sup> was recently increased by the release in June 1982 of a large share (\$500 million) of a loan amounting to \$1.2 billion, which the IMF decided in June 1981 to grant Romania. But the IMF attached Draconian conditions to its loan, requiring a reform in price and exchange systems, as well as a rapidly rehabilitation of the commercial trade balance, which had shown a steady deficit since 1976. Fulfillment of the first condition resulted in a price increase of nearly 30 percent for the people. As for the trade balance, it presented a surplus of \$304 million for 1981, thanks to a radical drop in imports. These were the first results -- definitely positive -- of a policy of everything for export which, on the other hand, heightened the people's difficulties in obtaining supplies.

Forced to "freeze" certain production capacities, to tighten the already harsh program of energy conservation even further, and counting on an improvement -- however hypothetical -- in productivity, the Romanian planners preferred to carry out heavy cuts in imports of energy and raw materials and to continue to give priority to the obtention of Western products and technology. In their opinion, this difficult choice would permit the manufacture of rapidly exportable goods. But the problem of marketing these products still exists, given the protectionist climate now prevailing on the international market.

The fact nevertheless remains that the reduction in imports would only hinder the normal operation of the industrial apparatus. The economic results for 1981, far below planned objectives, confirm the sudden slowdown in economic growth resulting from this race toward industrialization.<sup>8</sup>

An Internal structural reform, definitely necessary in order to soften the hypercentralization of this type of economy, can only come about through a certain "liberalization." But is a government as rigid and bureaucratic as the Romanian regime capable of proceeding to make any reform without risking having its authority undermined by that reform?

#### Institutionalization of Rationing

The Romanian standard of living is the lowest of the Eastern countries. The orders of October 1981, which in a way institutionalized rationing by setting consumer standards for basic products<sup>9</sup> and by setting forth very repressive

legislation for the crime of hoarding, did nothing but confirm -- and aggravate -- a situation that had actually existed for several years. In addition to the severity of penalties meted out (6 months to 5 years imprisonment, plus heavy fines) for hoarding more food products than needed for the month, it is the lack of precision of decrees now governing rationing that appears to be the most dangerous: The list of products involved is not restrictive and the definition of monthly needs is left up to the competence of local authorities, the people's councils.

In the guise of regional "self-sufficiency," the latter are to ban any provisioning of the people outside of places imperatively defined by virtue of the rule of self-sufficiency by department.<sup>10</sup> The establishment of this type of "regional autarchy," which considerably broadens the power of the people's councils of the municipalities (departmental capitals), turns out to be a double-edged sword in a highly centralized system. Actually, this proposed local responsibility, launched at the end of 1980 in the face of growing difficulties, enabled Romanian authorities to unload the organization of provisioning to the people's councils, presenting this measure as a kind of self-management although centralization of the system was in no way brought into question. Inhabitants of villages and cities in rural areas with individual plots are therefore forced, not only to meet their own needs for food, but also to supply the state with their products. They are measures identical with those reiterated in the October orders but in more restrictive terms. At prices set by the state, farmers will be required to deliver their surplus grain production from both collective and individual land, once they have satisfied their own needs, by virtue of standards that are arbitrary, to say the least.

#### Discipline: "The Most Productive Tool"

But the farmers are not the only ones targeted by the hardening of living conditions. An order of 21 December 1981 set forth measures aimed at stepping up discipline in enterprises "with a high degree of operating danger."<sup>11</sup> In the guise of ensuring greater security and developing the workers' sense of duty and responsibility," a series of infractions sanctioned by heavy prison sentences was drafted, thus instituting almost military discipline in industrial units. By way of example, a prison sentence could be meted out to any worker having left his place of work during his shift without authorization from the foreman, or having halted his work "without entrusting the equipment, tools or machinery to the following shift." Among other objectives, these measures are to encourage improved productivity, with intimidation serving as the chosen means. More order and discipline are urged, while the promise to reduce the work week from 48 to 44 hours is postponed for the umpteenth time. Not a day goes by without the columns of the official daily SCINTEIA praising the merit of certain model workers in putting in additional hours. As for the sums allocated by the government in order to compensate for the loss in purchasing power resulting from the vertiginous increases in the prices of many food products in February 1982, they should now be "recovered" by accelerating production! The deterioration in the standard of living appears in all its gravity when one notes that none of the compensations in question represented over 10 percent of the wages on the average, while the increase in products amounted to 35 percent.

As one can see, the Polish people have no reason to envy the Romanians' standard of living. As for this kind of "continuing normalization" which the Romanian people are experiencing in all aspects of their daily life, it does not appear to be so different from the repression raging in Poland.

The state of constant mobilization in which the regime wants to keep the people, without granting any material satisfactions, continues to deepen the divorce between the government and the party, on the one hand, and the Romanian people on the other. The sight of the president criticizing Romanians, on a television broadcast, for "eating too much" is enough to irritate a people now aware of the total scorn with which its leaders view it.<sup>12</sup>

The imperturbably triumphant speech of those leaders has irremediably widened the gap between those in government and the governed. In total contradiction with reality, the Romanian official press constantly praises past and future performances of the country, promising access to intensive development of the economy by 1985, its passage to a stage of intermediate development, without mentioning the strengthening of "self-leadership" and "workers self-management," the future achievement of "energy independence" (sic) and the accomplishment of a "new agrarian revolution." But does the latter not also risk remaining a dead letter? Actually, the recent measures taken in the field of agriculture (inventory of livestock down to the last chick, the seizure of land deemed improperly cultivated or not cultivated at all, an appeal to increase the "active force" -- that is, labor) resemble a "second collectivization" more than they do a real effort to modernize and mechanize a sector long neglected.

By assigning individuals a single supply point, the government has tried, among other things, to break up the people's mutual help systems which scarcities inevitably engender. Orders on rationing have further isolated all Romanians, already closely organized and watched by the RCP militias and the sadly famous but very effective Securitate (political police). It is an effectiveness that seems to try to extend beyond the Romanian borders, with a fair amount of success, it is true: The Tanase affair,<sup>13</sup> as related to the press, beyond its happy ending, nevertheless revealed the methods used by the Romanian police with regard to Romanian residents fleeing abroad. The people are kept in a state of total isolation in which any conversation with foreigners visiting the country must be reported, in which housing a foreigner has been illegal since 1974. The grilling of a French journalist in January 1981 because he was trying to meet with the family of a dissident who "disappeared" like so many others illustrates the authorities' zeal in snuffing out the slightest possibility of information.

#### Tradition of Struggle

At first, the relative passiveness of the people surprises the foreign observer who has recently seen the formidable fighting spirit of the Polish workers. And yet, dissent is there, scattered, but uninterrupted. The explosions of anger, whose echo has crossed Romania's borders, generally resemble anarchistic and sporadic local revolts. But the increase in number of acts of sabotage, such as the explosion of homemade bombs at Ploesti and the Arad Railroad

Station, the fires at the Pitesti petrochemical plant, the harassment of local leaders and the sacking of party headquarters in several villages, are not the only manifestations of discontent registered.

It is essentially in the Motru region, where the Levrda, Lupoia and Horasti coal strip mines are located, that one finds the hardcore dissenters. During a visit in November, Ceausescu was welcomed by stones and insults. "Pacification" of the region was then undertaken by the political police troops and is still going forward.<sup>14</sup> These events remind one of the miners strike in the Jiu Valley in August 1977. At the time, the miners refused to go through the official trade union machinery recognized as totally subservient to the RCP. They succeeded in gaining direct negotiations with Ceausescu. The disappearance and imprisonment of the main strike leaders marked the end of that heyday of workers resistance. It is likely that these regions constitute the cradle of workers dissent, which is nevertheless cruelly lacking in a structured, national organization. Political and organizational experience, as well as the fighting traditions of the Polish working class, obviously do not (yet) have an equivalent in Romania. The only attempt to set up a free union in March 1979, at the prompting of a group of workers including Vasile Paraschiv, for which Amnesty International and the League for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania continue to wage action as a result of its disappearance, was brutally put down. Nevertheless, it enabled nearly 2,000 persons to express their intention of joining.

Moreover, discontent in Romania has found no pole around which to crystallize, as has been the case in Poland, where the Catholic Church has in some way channeled the people's resentment. In Romania, the majority Orthodox Church has totally backed the regime, which has not prevented the latter from engaging in religious persecution with regard to hotbeds of dissent of different sects which, united within a "Christian Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Religion and Conscience" (ALRC), undertook actions aimed at forcing Romania to respect the third section of the Helsinki Accords on human rights. Baptist ministers have particularly stood out in this fight to denounce the violation of religious freedoms included in the constitution. They have also waged a fight to obtain recognition of the Uniate Church (Oriental Christian church that accepts the dogma of Catholicism) and also that of the Lord's Army which, although springing from the Orthodox Church, was banned in 1948 because of its religious organizing.<sup>15</sup> It now has about 400,000 members. There is now a resurgence of the dissident voices of the Orthodox Church such as the neo-Protestant sects (Baptists, Adventists, Pentecostal), whose impact is particularly strong among young people and in rural areas, especially Transylvania Province, peopled with a strong Hungarian minority. As in the case of the Gypsies, the object of brutal discrimination, the government does not hesitate to designate the Hungarians as those mainly responsible for disturbances of the "public order." It does not ignore the danger posed by this new hotbed of dissent. Another manifestation of passive resistance of the people to the regime is the development of illegal immigration (mainly going to Austria), for few of the million applications filed annually receive a favorable response.

The spectre of Solidarity looming over a regime which obviously has its back to the wall remains one of the explanations of the increased repression now

aimed at the Romanian people. Despite the total lack of information which the Romanian media try to maintain, the experience of the free Polish union has found a favorable response among many population groups.

Confronted with possible attempts at imitation, the government's response remains -- in addition to the tried and true use of repressive methods -- one last move to rally solid public support -- enlightened, to say the least -- around pacifistic and nationalistic themes. In his last speech of 1 June 1982, which revealed the defensive attitude now forced on the regime, Ceaucescu once again played the card of attachment to national identity, exalting "the age-old origins of the Romanian people," who are now considered to be the "heirs of the highest virtues of the Dacians and Romans." Using history as an essential instrument of propaganda, it is by referring to the earliest Dacian kings that the regime now tries to find some legitimacy. But it seems highly unlikely that this approach will allow it, at home or abroad, to reconstruct its political virginity, especially since the current economic mess, the harbinger of growing social disturbances, will only increase the risk of destabilization.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Which affirmed the "sovereign right of any socialist state to work out the methods of its construction" and added: "There can be no father or son party."
2. S. Orescu: "The 'Romanian Way' and the Contradictions of a Policy of Independence," *LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE*, May 1979.
3. Proportionately speaking, it is the largest Communist Party compared with the other "people's democracies" of East Europe.
4. Some information mention great discontent within the leadership group, exasperated by the jokes about the "people's favorite son." This only makes Ceaucescu's government more fragile, without mentioning the fact that at any given moment, Moscow could take advantage of the resentment which this personal power has engendered among the Romanian political elite.
5. Romania rejected Soviet pressure aimed at making it play the role of the CEMA breadbasket.
6. The USSR supplied one-tenth of all oil imports in 1980, or 1.5 million tons.
7. This type of loan, which only Romania and Hungary can receive (after entry into the IMF in June 1982), has naturally helped soften the position of Western governments, which on 28 July 1982, accepted a major rescheduling of Romanian debts.
8. See "The Romanian Economy in 1981: A Painful Balance Sheet," *LE COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST*, No 264, July-August 1982, La Documentation Francaise, Paris.

9. Or 410 grams of bread or wheat flour a day, one pound of sugar a month.
10. Inhabitants of villages and rural areas cannot buy products such as bread or meat (if they find them!) except in the area where they live.
11. The list of plants involved is so large that it actually covers nearly the entire industrial sector.
12. The height of ridiculousness was achieved on 14 July 1982 with the publication, in SCINTEIA, the RCP organ, of a proposed "scientific food program for the population" (LE MONDE, 13 August 1982).
13. Romanian Virgil Tanase, missing since 20 May, was not kidnaped by the Romanian Secret Service, but "turned out to pasture" by the French DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance], which was reportedly warned by a secret agent in Bucharest. The latter says it was asked by Ceaușescu's services to get rid of the man who, in an article in ACTUEL (January 1982, No 27), called the Romanian regime a "communist dynasty."
14. The region is still called a "banned department" on the pretext of an epidemic of "swine flu."
15. Father Gheorghe Calciu, sentenced in 1979 to 10 years in prison for denouncing the subservience and spiritual vacuum of the Orthodox hierarchy in his sermons, is one of the best known figures. See Sanda Stolojan, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in Romania," L'ALTERNATIVE, No 9, March-April 1981.

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CROATIAN PARTY DISCUSSES CADRE PROBLEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 82 pp 14-16

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "The Kind of People the Party Needs"]

[Text] Do we have enough capable cadres? There is a clear answer to this question, which is only at first glance a simple one, but is actually very complex, since first one must answer who and what the cadres are: "yes." Asserting otherwise would mean calling into question our entire postwar development, and in the final analysis our self-managing path as well, since self-management is in fact based upon a broad cadre base. Just the fact that about three million people are more or less active in our delegate system demonstrates our cadre possibilities for electing the best and most capable people to responsible social posts. Nevertheless, it frequently occurs that there are no adequate candidates for some posts, because the capable ones are supposedly already busy, involved, or assigned. The worst thing is that the people who are supposed to make the proposals about who is to be elected for what are often really at a loss; the personnel people are often really in agony, because with the best of wills they cannot find an appropriate person, or, as we are accustomed to say, the right man for the right job.

Thus, we have hundreds of thousands of people with a university education or higher; we have thousands of masters and doctors of science, 3 million delegates, and more than 2 million LC members. Nevertheless, we sometimes hear that we do not have enough capable cadres. We do not agree with this thesis, naturally, but on the other hand it is relevant to ask why we have and do not have cadres, and why we boast of the enormous successes achieved in education, and then in spite of this constantly rotate the same people in certain areas and at certain levels. The real question, in fact, is whether in this system, which is extremely institutionalized, we have created a special group of people, a special stratum that has received the name of the cadres. This question is not a pointless one if we recall that even our highest officials (cadres) frequently say "we have to explain to our cadres and people," or "The activists and members of the LC should be told," and so on in the same vein.

This division into cadres and others clearly shows what connotation and meaning the word cadre has for us. It is really a replacement for the words manager and official, and thus for the people in the most prominent social

offices. Thus, the people are quite right who assert that cadre policy and work with cadres are not or should not be a seasonal job reserved only for the times of major assignments, changes and alterations, such as, for example, delegate elections or party congresses.

#### Who Goes Where

Unfortunately, the practice is different and cadre policy is rarely discussed outside of those dates; even then everything is reduced to personal assignments and to the question of who goes where. This "who goes where" means that for every person who has once sat in even the smallest armchair, there also has to be a job during the following term. This assertion was proven in the latest elections and congresses, and one can almost count on one hand the number of people who were left without a new post after membership in some central committee or assembly. There were even fewer people who, after one post as a professional political official, were not able to find another. All of this was done with the blessing of the so-called coordination committees for cadre policy, which are less and less places for coordination, and more and more a sort of power center, where the cadre crossword puzzles are filled out.

By now we have already been warned innumerable times about how people are made candidates for the most prominent posts, without previously even being delegates to the body that is supposed to elect them, or about how many times citizens are surprised when they receive the list of candidates and it is not clear to them how someone became a candidate at all. It also happens that someone finds out from the newspapers that he is a candidate for a delegate at the congress, and that several thousand workers and party members likewise read in the newspapers who "their" delegate or candidate for member of the Central Committee is. It has even happened that a municipal conference put forward its candidate for Central Committee member, and then some unseen hand simply crossed him off the list of candidates without a word of explanation.

These examples are naturally not dominant and things are not that black everywhere, but the higher the body for which members are being elected, the less the influence of the base; it is completely in the hands of the coordination bodies and cadre workers. When we say that cadre policy is rarely discussed, we are not thinking of purely verbal and theoretical discussions and so forth, but rather primarily of how we lack analyses and open discussions about the way in which the principles and the documents based on them (which we have in abundance) are put into effect. The principles are as clear as they can be, and instead of repeating them here at length, we will quote part of Comrade Tito's report at the 11th LCY Congress: "The working people and citizens should make more extensive use of their constitutional right to decide in a direct and responsible manner on the selection and assignment of cadres to responsible working and managing posts. The obligation of the LC is to continue to help this million-strong self-managing potential to take charge of personnel policy."

### Where Do the Incidents Come From?

It is just in the last few days that cadre policy has again come to the fore and is at the center of public attention, and in all of the numerous discussions, which the Central Committee of the Croatian LC has also joined, people are attempting to give an answer to the question of why basic positions are not carried out and why practice even goes in the opposite direction from the one that we as a society subscribed to. The view that it is precisely at this time, and in this economic and political situation, that we have to talk about cadres was heard on several occasions, even at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC. This view was more or less presented as a statement without additional explanations, about as though the answer were implied, but it could be concluded from everything that was said at that interesting, and in some details heated, meeting that this theme has forced itself upon us because of the difficult economic situation, but also because of certain, let us say, cadre incidents.

The reasons why cadres are being discussed under various aspects just now, neither during nor before an election, must perhaps be sought in the criticisms and complaints that are being sent to managers throughout the country. These criticisms, as Mika Spiljak said, especially appeared at the last party congresses, and they are a serious warning that cadre policy is not under sufficient social supervision. Whenever there is no supervision, different and even foreign policies can appear (and do). Thus, it has been possible for unverified people who are foreign to socialism to obtain various very sensitive posts in society. This has also been assisted by some privatizations in the conduct of cadre policy, which have forced the committees and other collective organs to one side. It is for this reason that various "incidents" are occurring that are a burden to the LC, and even this Central Committee.

It may be concluded from these words of Spiljak's, and has been shown by later discussion, that cadre policy is not being placed on the agenda merely to carry out the Central Committee's work plan; the reason must also be sought in certain concrete situations. We do not mean to say that the theme was imposed, but the Central Committee was simply unable to pass over in silence what took place in public view at Petrinja and Sisak, in Karlovac, or in the famous "Djurekovic case."

Thus, even though the main point on the agenda was the cadre and organizational formation of the LC, this was at the same time a plenum devoted to newspapers and journalists. This demonstrates once more the complexity of what we usually call cadre policy, and so the real question is actually, "Isn't there a cadre policy?"

By placing this theme on the agenda, the Central Committee intended to introduce more order into the area of cadres, and supported abiding by the principles in practice, through several concrete measures, such as the mandatory record-keeping and evaluation of the work of communists. If the principles had always been respected, there would have been no need for the presidium of the Central Committee to establish special working groups for the Petrinja and

Karlovac cases. This is not always easy, because we are still a society in which it is important to have a post and a social "rank," since in spite of all the successes of the delegate system, it is still important to have "your" minister, "your" member of the presidium, or "your" chairman of the municipality. After all, we are still far from the ideal, when politics will no longer be an alienated sphere and when working in politics will not be reserved for specific social strata, when performing public management functions will become more and more a continuation of self-management responsibilities, and not a trade.

It is precisely because a political office still means a great deal, because it makes possible great authority and in some instances even the making of decisions that may be critical for the country, that it is important whose hands cadre policy is in, and who decides about who goes where.

#### Without Covering Up

Mika Spiljak says that cadre policy is not under sufficient social supervision, and much criticism is even directed against the work of the coordinating committees, while also mentioning privatization, group formation, clique formation, and the pushing forward of one's own people. All of these assessments do not apply just to social posts, to party or state leaders, but also to the economy, education, and various other institutions. Still, how is it that even enemies get into some prominent posts, not to speak of opportunists and incompetents, hangers-on and hindrances? How is it that this is possible when LC members and for the most part the most prominent leaders are on the cadre coordinating committees, and how does this happen when in practice not a single director of any significant work organization is elected without a "green light" from the LC committee?

We could enumerate these questions and similar ones endlessly, but an answer might be found in the words of Vilim Mulc, who says that we are faced with a moral crisis, irresponsibility, abuse, robbery, and a threat to social property. All of these phenomena, including economic failures, must inevitably be associated with the LC, since one could not speak of a moral erosion in society if the membership of the LC were morally pure. Mulc says that it is obvious that society's faults are also deep within the bowels of the party, and thus when we talk about weaknesses in society, we have to turn toward ourselves, not just because members of the LC are responsible for these faults, but rather because we are slack and indifferent, and behaving in an opportunistic manner.

This criticism is sharp and trenchant, but one must also add to it the fact that the party's standing and authority have also been shaken because there is not enough differentiation. It is unacceptable to have views generalized on the basis of individual cases, and to have the impression created that everything is black, that all are dishonest or robbers, and that all are opportunists or incompetents.

There have been several more statements along the lines of this one by Mulc, but also some views according to which it turns out that an "attack" on one

LC member is really an attack on the LC, and that criticism of the conduct of any official is really an attack on the LC, the system, the state, and who knows what else. The logic is one that would lead us, and is leading us, back to certain former times. How else are we to interpret a question that we heard during the discussion: "Who is permitted to expose members of the Central Committee without a decision from the Central Committee?" Isn't that member of the Central Committee primarily responsible to his electoral base? In addition to the fact that he is a member of the Central Committee, isn't he also a citizen, and a self-manager and worker? Can't he commit an offense in spite of being a Central Committee member? The standards of this society apply equally to members of central committees and to non-members, both to party members and to those who are not party members. These standards are even stricter for those in the LC. Thus, at this time we are not speaking of possible erroneous accusations, of conscious attempts to discredit the party through one member of the Central Committee, but rather of a principle. There is no immunity from social criticism for members of the Central Committee or any other body; on the contrary, their conduct is under a different public spotlight than that of ordinary LC members.

We are therefore opposing any cover-ups, but we also support what was said by Josip Vrhovec: that the LC has to be responsible for social criticism, an energetic fighter against everything that is aimed at destruction, regardless of who is responsible for that destruction. This is the only way to strengthen confidence in the LC among the workers, and to restore that confidence when it has been jeopardized or may be jeopardized tomorrow. In this context, cadre policy is of exceptional significance, and it becomes especially significant to prevent any kind of cadre manipulations through existing group interests, and to struggle against the leadership ambitions, monopolies, and privileges that would like to impose themselves upon the LC and secure their own interests through it, naturally, to the detriment of the interests of the LC and of the revolution as a whole. The public nature of cadre policy is becoming a vital issue, according to Vrhovec.

#### Breaking Up the Monopolies

Some reasons why this is still not the case were also pointed out by Milutin Baltic, who felt that the LC is freeing itself too slowly from the old method of operation, carried over from the time when the LC made decisions in the name of a class. Dissatisfaction with the way in which cadre policy is being carried out was also expressed by Ante Milkovic, who supported this with the example that the League of fighters is often in trouble when it has to give its agreement to an individual proposal, since the only thing that is available to it is the biography of the candidate that he wrote himself; the LC has neither an assessment of his past work and competence, nor an explanation of why it is this man who is being proposed for a given post. Milkovic feels that the situation at the level of the municipalities is even worse than at the republic level, but Branko Puharic disagreed with this when he said that at the lower levels, there have been considerable improvements and a high degree of implementation of many of the principles of our cadre policy. Younger people, the majority of whom are from associated labor, have come

into several leaderships, and monopolies and privileges have been broken up. Puharic said, however, that what is characteristic of the social base is not a feature of the higher social levels, since the degree to which the proclaimed principles have been implemented at the level of the republic or the federation is considerably below what has been achieved in the municipalities. Puharic sees the reasons for this in the fact that many of our cadres who were in leading posts in the republic have held those posts for many years, and this has become a lifetime vocation for them. The principle of leaving for associated labor is not feasible because they did not come from associated labor, and associated labor furthermore has few jobs of that type. A large number of these people are qualified for a pension, but are nevertheless not expressing any desire to leave their posts.

Branko Puharic also pointed out that most of the people coming from associated labor do not want to return to their own area; all of these are reasons why the lowering of the average age is taking place slowly, and the age composition of the leading cadres in Croatia is the most unfavorable in Yugoslavia. While it is not a rarity elsewhere in the world for prime ministers or ministers to be between 30 and 40 years old, such people are a real rarity here. The partisan generation that bore the development and creation of this country upon its back -- that is, the youngest members of that generation, who were members of the League of Young Communists, are on the threshold of their 60's. This does not have anything to do with some sort of conflict between generations, but rather with the natural human desires imposed by common logic. A conflict of generations can be caused only by the monopoly of one generation, and in order to avoid this and ensure the continuity of the revolution, we must allow younger people to reach the most responsible posts.

#### What Kind of Cadres?

Puharic also advocated a normal advancement of cadres, and not having this depend upon whether someone likes someone else's face or considers him his man. He was particularly critical of the way in which cadres are elected in the Federation, and their behavior. Our real situation now appears to be such that everyone who represents his republic is exclusively responsible to his own republic, or rather, to the political leadership of that republic. When the election year comes, it is completely irrelevant what other areas or the Yugoslav public in general think of his work.

The main rule for his conduct can be reduced to the skill of realizing the interests of his own area as successfully as possible; it is from this political philosophy that compromise decisions satisfying no one emerge. In the distribution of offices in the federation, posts are received by the republics and provinces; there are no criteria that a given individual has to meet. Instead, parity and mathematical equality are the only things taken into account.

It is therefore natural that the cadre composition in the federation is not the result of the best possible selection, and that the differences in the quality of the cadres are so obvious. Wondering whether it is sensible and wise to implement the principle of equality in such a far-reaching and

mechanical manner, Puharic asked whether it would not be more useful to Croatia for a given federal minister to be competent for that office and thus directly and indirectly assist his own area as well, instead of having an incompetent person [from Croatia] in that post.

Feeling that it was not sufficiently clear what was meant by social influence, Stipe Suvar stated what he understood socialist public opinion to be. This was primarily taking into account the views of the broad strata of working people and citizens in work organizations and communes, in the broader community. If names known throughout the entire country are at issue, then we can call this the Yugoslav socialist public opinion. Thus, even if a person is criticized and insulted in his own area and cliques attack him, we have to take into account such a Yugoslav opinion.

In continuing, Suvar disagreed with the view that we do not have enough young cadres in responsible positions, but admitted that it was true that there were few of them at the level of the republic or federation. According to Suvar, we are still less of a gerontological society than the Chinese or Soviet societies, for instance, and all of our delegates are younger than American congressmen or English representatives.

It is clear just from these positions from the meeting that in attempting to answer the question of what kind of cadres are needed by the party, the Central Committee touched upon a controversial and difficult subject, which has not been closed by this plenum, but only begun.

Instead of answering this question, and instead of citing social agreements and old conclusions, we will quote Jura Bilic: "We are a revolution and a party of honorable people; everything that is dishonorable should be purged -- resolutely and without any reservations."

9909  
CSO: 2800/43

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN LC DISCUSSES IDEOLOGY, MEDIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by T. Indik and B. Kovacevic: "Accountability of the News Media"]

[Text] In following its work schedule and preparing for one of the next meetings of the Croatian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee, the Commission for Ideological Affairs and Information of the Croatian LC Central Committee opened debate on political-ideological tendencies and the problems of our ideological effort at the meeting held on Thursday, which was chaired by Josip Vrhovec.

Excerpt From the Speech of Dr Stipe Suvar

After he made several remarks about the present moment of our development and about ideological developments in our society, Dr Stipe Suvar discussed at length the incidence and events in and around the news media, and said in part:

The news media must truly be free in presenting the truth and portraying and analyzing social actuality, but they cannot operate as an independent political force. Nowhere in the world are they free in the sense of not serving particular class interests.

In our country, Suvar said, the role of the news media is specific in that they are socially owned and at the service of the organized socialist forces. But in practice they are still in the hands of the technobureaucratic monopoly, and that at various levels of society.

In Whose Hands Are They, and Whom Do They Serve

Suvar went on to emphasize that any discussion of the role of the news media must begin with the question: In whose hands are they, and whom do they serve? In our country they are not yet at the service or under any real influence of the producer and worker majority in society, nor are they predominantly oriented toward it, nor do they present the news primarily from it and for it, they do not sufficiently express its interests, they do not record its everyday life, nor do they sufficiently interpret that life. They simply are not yet socialized to the extent that the level achieved in socialist self-management allows and demands.

There are strong tendencies in the news media, Suvar went on, toward group ownership, and the technobureaucratic monopoly in the news organizations themselves not only has not been destroyed as yet, but recently has even become stronger in spite of declared public intention.

Going on to speak about possible directions toward overcoming this situation, Stipe Suvar said: If the subjective forces are to exert an organized influence on the news media, we have to find solutions which would not return any sort of bureaucratic control, and in particular would not open up the way to government censorship and statist arbitration, which would be especially contrary to the intentions and lines of development of the political system of socialist self-management, but would on the contrary expose those media to the influence of the social base, the associated producers, the working people and citizens.

Returning to the topic of freedom of the press, Dr Suvar said in part: Thus we hear assertions and assessments to the effect that freedom of the press and freedom in presentation of the news are the most important indicator of the progressiveness and democracy of this society of ours; what is more, that it is a barometer of whether society is moving forward ... that the main thing is to destroy the "rigged" press and develop a "free" press, that the press must cease to be a "messenger," that only an open dialogue in the public about absolute everything can save us....

For the great majority of journalists in our country, Dr Stipe Suvar went on to emphasize, the basic challenge is still how to be both responsible and creative, how to be critics, but not cavilers, how to demonstrate their courage as members of our overall socialist movement, how to confirm themselves as fighters for the program of the LCY. But a minority of the journalists are "freewheelers," possessors of various knockout and similar departments in which they call the roll, and some of the editors who have taken it into their heads to pad out their papers by giving as much space as possible to topics that are supposed to be ticklish, and often in the manner of petty political attribution and sensationalist tricks ... have come to see themselves as the conscience and consciousness of society, concede themselves to be the most authentic interpreter of the views and feelings of the people and the uncompromising builder of public opinion.... Some of them would like to constantly expose our own Watergate affairs....

#### Calling the Roll Accomplishes Nothing

Dr Stipe Suvar went on to say that the "calling of the roll" and "exchange of criticism" between the political leadership and journalists and the newspapers leads nowhere. The newspapers and journalists should not serve individual leaders and leadership bodies, but both the one and the other are called upon to act in the spirit of the LCY Program and the program of all the organized socialist forces. The main question facing our news media is how to develop criticism of the right topics, that is, how to fight for the news media to have much greater rights and abilities to criticize, and to fight for them to be as open as possible to socialist (and not underground) public opinion.

Now a portion of the news media, Suvar continued, is managing to arouse the masses with what it writes, but is not authentically politicizing them. And it is also true that we often carry on propaganda in a primitive way, we actually "buy" the public in a cheap way. The programs and contents of the main body of our news media are far below the creative abilities of both them themselves and the creative forces of society.

In his introductory address Dr Stipe Suvar also took up the virtual manhunt of "politicians" and "leaders" and the possible consequences, and he said in part: In this especially fierce attacks are being made on that portion of the Partizan generation which has not yet left public and political office. The entire Partizan generation is actually put in the defendant's dock when it is asserted that "achievement in the revolution and recognition for those achievements are taking on the character of privatization of the achievements of the revolution, and the achievements are becoming a kind of source of unearned income...."

Is it true, Dr Suvar went on to ask, that all our "professional managers" are really criminals by the mere fact that they perform that function?

There are journalists, Suvar said, who own twice as much and more than the most responsible leaders in this country, and they keep quiet about their earnings, but they try to give the public the idea that the leaders have excessively high personal incomes and various privileges.

Stipe Suvar summed up that section of his address: One thing is the right and need in public, but also with full responsibility, to examine everyone's work and behavior and accountability for what he does or does not do, but it is something else to push and to spread the blanket accusation that all "politicians" and all "leaders" are to blame and that only they bear responsibility for everything that is wrong in society.

(Beginning in tomorrow's issue we will be publishing extensive excerpts from Dr Stipe Suvar's address in several installments).

#### The Discussion

Everything we have been talking about has resulted solely from imprecision and unclear beginnings in the realization of income, was the view of Kosta Spaic. In that struggle for income, for example, in organizations of associated labor in the film industry, theaters, schools and the like, there are cases where all want to improve their income and then seek standards by which to evaluate that work. But how can you apply the principle of income in evaluating someone's acting, singing, or dancing, say? Then everyone thinks that his work is the most valuable, and that naturally leads to antagonism.

He then spoke about the operation of the news media, saying that the source of all the disagreements concerning particular phenomena in that sphere lies in the distorted view of material relations, in the way business is conducted. If we were to put work and man's liberation through work at the top of the list of values, then all that economism in the spiritual superstructure would disappear. I am not for banning writing, he said, but I am in favor of our

being concerned with those ways of evaluating work which today are unfortunately seen solely in terms of income.

#### But the Majority Keeps Silent, Does Not Speak ...

We are witnesses of a penetration of the most negative ideological and esthetic and every other sort of trash, and that not only in all our media, but also in our psychology, Mirko Bozic believes. At one time we carried on propaganda for culture in general, regardless of where it came from, we fought so as not to be a colonial country, to create our own culture, but today we are a more colonial country than ever. Often today the party is reduced to a debating society, to assurances about consciousness, to appeals for consciousness. The enormous majority stands in place, keeps silent, does not speak. Where is our humanistic and technical intelligentsia, our scientific intelligentsia? In Zagreb we have perhaps 100,000 such people, but only a few people are creating this consciousness of ours through their appearances in the communication media. Why is that so? We cannot take an exclusively economicistic view of public affairs. What sort of instruments does society have for exerting an effective influence on the operation of the news media? As a rule these are councils. However, you can say your piece there, but things go on as before. Why did we make a monopoly of this, and what is the way out? Why is it that 5 or 15 people in the newspapers create, interpret and influence that consciousness. There is a big difference between these people bringing in others to interpret social dispositions, to explain and conduct policy, and that being done by those people who run the newspapers. We have expelled an enormous number of people in those public communication media. Why is it that as a society we are not changing that situation?

In the entire sphere of artistic work we have neglected domestic creativity, and this has had an impact not only among people in the field of culture, but also a general effect. Priority has been given to a spirit which is more colonial.

Our society is not as impoverished as it is presented in our media. When they are crammed full of news from the rest of the world, and not with our own news, then a consciousness is shaped in them which is difficult to correct later on. We are doing little work on this. We have made an assessment of certain excesses and political tendencies (in novels, for example), but we have not made it possible for that other side to take wing--so that at least the scales are in balance.

#### Where To Put the Blame?

Goran Babic warned that what for years happened in our economy is now taking place in the area being discussed here. The party has for a long time been on the defensive on the ideological front, and it has to get out of that defensive posture. Never can we deny as many lies as they can tell, Goran Babic said. There is a position which for several years has been based on the slogan of the false peace, on the psychology that it is good if it does not get worse.

The fundamental error was to blame the newsmen and newspapers and news media. Everything that is taking place within the newspapers themselves indicates that the decisive battle is being fought by honest people, brave newsmen who are dedicated to the line of the LCY and to the prosperity of this country. And they have very often suffered. Those people should be given support to persist in their effort. Consequently, the greatest error is the blanket assessment and generalization.

The fundamental issue is where to put the blame and why these things are happening. In his opinion it is mostly a kind of opportunism, indifference, a shrugging of the shoulders, passing the buck or evasion of confrontation and resolution of particular problems. It has gone so far that party members talk about how this discussion is taking place within the Socialist Alliance. The principle of democratic socialism is in effect in the LCY; it therefore should not happen that the LCY Presidium issues assessments to the effect that a news organization is not following the line of the decisions of the congress, but the basic organization of that news organization says that we are not following the line, since if they are right, then the LCY Presidium is not right.

Goran Babic illustrated this opportunism and this ideological defensive with several case histories.

#### Committees Close to Reality, to the Base ...

On the supposition that our forces are on the defensive, and assuming agreement about what we should do, we should fix our attention on the issue: How are we to get out of this lethargy, which is fraught with all kinds of dangers, Ante Franic said. In the ranks of members of the LCY in targeted education and higher education passivity and deep-seated opportunism prevail. And not only that--some members of the LCY openly act the coquette and court oppositionist currents on one side and the other. Some individuals even enter into open confrontation with the views and decisions, fundamental decisions, of this society with respect, say, to reform of education.

As he put it, members of committees of the LCY--from the opstina to the Federation--ought to be more in communication with the membership, ought to spend less time in the headquarters of their committees and participate more in the practical and concrete battle being waged by members of the LCY in their own milieux. They ought to do that job with an awareness of that wartime slogan to the effect that the leaders go into the basic organizations and wage the fight together with them in specific actions there, with an awareness of the slogan: After Me, Comrades, rather than "Go Ahead, Comrades."

#### Aggressiveness of the Minority

Pero Pletikosa says that the central issue for the LCY at the present time is how to encourage, to equip and to support forces which are on the same ideological front. How is it that we have allowed to be imposed on us propositions to the effect that in the battle for the strategy and program of the LCY we ought to feel ourselves inferior? It would be tragic if the LCY were a minority in what it offers to this society; and yet it is not and cannot be

tragic when a minority aggressively imposes itself, delivers lectures, and carries out usurpation, while our forces are silent and enter very little into the ideological struggle, into the confrontation. Accordingly, we do encounter elements of a defensive posture, of vacillation, and if we do react, we do so very late and in a disorganized way.

What sort of debates do we carry on, who participates in them? Pero Pletikosa asked, noting that with honorable exception the space for debate in the media has been usurped by a few blasphemers, intolerant people, people who appear to be clowns. No honorable man wants to participate in such debates full of curses and name-calling, nor does it do credit to any serious newspaper to publish such quasi-intellectual debates. However, what is worst, exclusivity and the demand for monopoly are actually offered in those so-called debates and in those demands for dialogue. So long as there is space for such debates and such debaters, that situation will persist even in our broader areas. Individuals who have compromised themselves in their own milieux very quickly find space in others.

We have lost the sense of talking about all this in the broader space of Yugoslavia; we are shutting ourselves off more and more. If we speak openly, in the communist way, both critically and self-critically, about certain phenomena in our own milieu, then we have the right and duty (especially within the LCY) to speak about such matters when they occur in other milieux as well. Moreover, none of us should have any feeling whatsoever of inferiority or fear.

#### Both Day-to-Day and Long-Term Battles

As a society we constantly have imposed on us topics which we have long ago laid to rest, and attempts are made to keep them open. For example, topics concerning taboos of one sort or another are constantly being reheated. The last such example was the assertion in DUGA that Andrija Hebrang is a taboo topic for the party, which we know is not the truth. The purpose was to call into question the revolutionary past and present practice of the LCY and CPY and of the Croatian LC and Croatian CP. The desire was to prove that the history of our party is dishonorable and that we conceal those dishonorable elements.

Certain insinuations are finding more and more space in certain marginal areas as, for example, in writing about sports. In what manner, for example, was our failure at the World Soccer Championship written about? Some of the articles cleverly passed off the thesis that the failure of our national team is a reflection of the debacle of our social system.

These are matters which we must discuss in the ranks of the LCY, but also more widely, not so that we might make any sort of hasty and forced moves, but precisely in order to broaden our front as much as possible. The LCY ought to be concerned in more detail with the situation in our academies of arts and schools in those areas of study where journalists are trained. It would be very dangerous if we were to discuss this only in connection with situations involving excesses; on the contrary, these and similar conversations must eliminate every possibility of excesses occurring.

The essential question is how to equip and encourage the majority which has committed itself to following the line of the League of Communists and committed itself to socialist self-management, the important thing is to give as many weapons as possible for the day-to-day and long-term ideological battle.

(We will be publishing the subsequent proceedings of the meeting in issues to come.)

7045  
CSO: 2800/44

CRITICAL COMMENTS ON WEAKNESS OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

[Editorial Report] The 14 November 1982 issue of BORBA (Belgrade, page 3) published the following statement made during the recent Ninth Congress of the SSJ (Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia) by Mirko Medjava, president of the Croatian Trade Union Federation: "Recently various kinds of criticism have been heard directed at the Trade Union [Federation] and trade union congresses in which it is said that nothing new has been enacted, that earlier decisions are simply renewed; and since things operate this way, the statement is made that the trade unions are not needed in general and that they are one of our unnecessary institutions.

"Obviously people who judge the work of the trade unions in this way, do not know its activity, practice, results, yet it is certain that there are trade union organizations with weaknesses.... The workers, too, are asking for a more offensive, effective, and energetic trade union. What more should the workers ask for than what they said at the congresses, for power over their income, over expanded reproduction, to decide on investments, responsibility from top to bottom, a more active fight against waste, etc. What is more revolutionary than this?

"From whom are they asking this, with whom are they negotiating, ...with the state, like some trade unions in the West, and who is doing this instead of them or their forums? The LC program does not say that discussions or negotiations are to be carried on in the name of the workers, but that the workers themselves are to do this, starting with their basic [trade union] organization."

In regard to the problem of revitalizing the trade unions by replacing entrenched functionaries, EKONOMSKA POLITIKA (Belgrade 27 Sep 82 p 6) reported the following statement made by a woman worker in the "Beko" clothing enterprise in Belgrade when the candidate list for the new trade union leadership was announced: "What does this mean? The same people are being shifted from one job to another, from one comfortable chair to another. How does this happen? Have we not been lying to ourselves? This is not right and I absolutely disagree with it. Individuals who support and create the policy are themselves violating it. In solving these matters we have to begin right here." The candidate list was reportedly adopted, with her vote the only dissenting one.

Mika Spiljak, a long-time trade union functionary and past president of the SSJ, in an interview in the SSJ weekly RAD (Belgrade, 11 Nov 82 p 5) disagreed that there were few younger workers in the Croatian trade union federation. In being asked to comment on Mitja Ribicic's statement at the opening of the International Book Fair in Belgrade that "we are among the countries with the oldest party and state leadership and that this should be looked at as one of the causes for lagging development of the system," Spiljak said: "Ask Comrade Mitja what he means by this. In Croatia there are young educated cadres, with some exceptions when it is a question of people from the wartime. In the Croatian leadership, of the party, trade union, etc., most are young people. I am 66 and am the oldest in the Croatian Central Committee. Perhaps in Comrade Mitja's area things are different...."

The interviewer, in pursuing the question, further noted: "Workers are asking ever more loudly for a new system of electing trade union (and not only trade union) leaders: i.e., several candidates on the lists and secret balloting. What, in your opinion, would be gained by this...?"

The following comments/questions were also put to him: "It can be heard that in some cases the basic activity of individual [trade union] leaders during their 1-year term of office is assuring for themselves some other presidency or influential job after their term expires...." And, "At the recently-held Croatian trade union congress, comments were heard from delegates that many trade union cadres were not workers but rather that they were imposed [on the organization] by cadre combinations put together at forums, and frequently were even informal groups which have no contact with the workers base. Are these comments well-founded?"

DANAS (Zagreb), in an interview in the 8 June 1982 issue (page 10) put the following statement to Spiljak: "An analysis of some strikes shows that the trade union leadership has been completely equated [by the workers] with the rest of the work organization management and has separated itself from most of the workers."

EKONOMSKA POLITIKA of 1 November 1982 (page 7) reports that, according to the SSJ information service, the percentage of workers in trade union organs from the opstina to the federal level, is constantly declining. "Six years ago the percentage was 43.7, in 1979 40.1, and in 1981 38.3. Only in Croatia did the percentage increase during this period; in all other republics and provinces it declined and in Slovenia there was even a 12.7 percent decline. In 1981, the trade union organs with the most workers were in Vojvodina (45.2 percent), while those with the lowest percentage of workers were in Slovenia (29.5 percent), and Macedonia (31.3 percent)."

CSO: 2800/64

KECMANOVIC PLACES LC ETHICS BELOW BOURGEOIS LEVEL

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 82 pp 6-7

[Excerpt] Professor Nenad Kecmanovic says: "Speaking about the erosion of morality in the LC, it would be logical to assume that one has in mind the inconsistency of party members in putting into practice the specific, ethically-elevated scale of communist values which place greater demands on members of the avant-garde than on other working people and citizens of a socialist society. Unfortunately, today we all have in mind something entirely different and less [elevated]: LC members, en masse, are coming into conflict with elementary moral norms on which every civilized society rests. We are accustomed to say that our communists have been poisoned by petit-bourgeois morality, but we thereby ignore the fact that instances of irresponsibility, lack of discipline, idleness, nepotism, despotism, giving jobs to family members, carelessness, abuses, fraud, etc. are much closer to the pre-urban [pre-bourgeois] and feudal milieu rather than being characteristic for any of the cultured and civilized areas of the bourgeois world. In rejecting the bourgeois level, we have sometimes gone below rather than above it, in the consciousness and conduct of both party and nonparty members [of society], we have been left, namely, with something of the traditional ethical code of the robber mentality of the Middle Ages. Of course, this cannot be rooted out all at once, because it depends on our overall development, but quite a bit can be changed."

A moral regeneration cannot be implemented, as Dr Kecmanovic says, by the police going into enterprises or institutions and arresting thieves. This statist consciousness which expects the state, i.e., the Social Accounting Service, SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs), or similar institutions, to solve the problem of eroding morality or which expects some LC plenum or meeting of the Presidency to carry out ethical regeneration by some radical intervention is also the main obstacle to making an effective decision.

CSO: 2800/63

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

CHARGED WITH TERRORIST ACTS--The district court in Rijeka is conducting an investigation of Jandro Fracin (born 2 February 1949 on the island of Pag), who had been working in Cologne, and is suspected of committing several terrorist actions this last summer at various places in Croatia which endangered the lives of innocent citizens. He also placed a time bomb in the bus station in Zagreb which was discovered and defused, thanks to the efficient self-protection action of workers in this work organization and measures taken by the internal affairs organs. During the investigation Fracin acknowledged that he was a member of an Ustashe terrorist group in Cologne led by Josip Ledic. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 82 p 12]

MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP LEADER--The district court in Pristina, chaired by Isak Nishevci, has sentenced Hidajet Hyseni, leader of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist group" in Kosovo, to 15 years in prison for enemy activity. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 82 p 12]

CRITICIZED FOR PROPOSING NATIONALIZATION--The presidium of the SSJ (Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia) opstina council in Zenica critically dealt with the statements and certain standpoints of its delegate Ante Simic whose views were uncritically published in certain newspapers. Simic stressed that he was speaking in the name of 21,225 workers in Zenica and that his views were the common opinion of the SSJ organization and organs. But in his statements in which there were also good critical judgments about negative occurrences and weaknesses in society, Simic did not base himself on the commitment and interest of the working class of Zenica to solve all life's questions, above all, through developing self-management.... But he built his demand for issuing a law on nationalization [state ownership of enterprises] in Yugoslavia on disinformation and half-truths. Evaluating the existing laws and implementing organs as obsolete, he made a number of other statements which are not based on facts but on stories, intrigue, and untruths about the situation in our society and the conduct of the most responsible organs and individuals. Simic did not get authorization from the working people for such statements and views. The presidium judged his views and conduct to be unacceptable and politically damaging. The presidium also criticized its own work because it had not reacted early enough...to such occurrences and negativism in its midst. It stressed the need to purge itself of all negativism regardless of where it arises and to energetically suppress the spread of distrust in our system's institutions, of intrigue, the irresponsible discrediting of individuals, and all other forms of destructive action. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 82 p 4]

EXPLOSIONS IN PRISTINA--On 26 October at 2005 hours there was an explosion in Goleska St behind the "Vlaznimi" movie theater. About 15 minutes later there was a second explosion behind a building at No 11 Mostar St. Several windows in nearby buildings were blown out; otherwise there was no damage. Since the detonations were in open areas, the destructive force was weakened. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 82 p 3]

FIRE IN DEVIC MONASTERY--In the night between 10 and 11 November unknown persons set a fire in the Devic monastery near Srbica [Kosovo]. According to SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) organs, citizens from the village of Lausa were of major assistance, in addition to the fire-fighting unit from Titova Mitrovica; as a result of their help, one-half of the property was saved, but there was great damage, nevertheless. The presidency of the opstina LC committee and the local committee for nation-wide defense and social self-protection severely condemned this arsonist act and decided that the opstina executive council would assess the damage for which the monastery will be compensated. An investigation is in process. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 82 p 12]

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